TAMIL CIVILIZATION

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Quarterly Research Journal of the Tamil University

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An Epoch Making Pre-Historic Painting in Tamilnadu

P. L. SAMY

Recently an epoch making pre-historic painting and other paintings were discovered at Keezhvaalai, 15 miles from Villupuram. Pre-historic paintings on rocks had been discovered at Bimbteca near Hozhangabad in Madhya Pradesh for the first time. More rock paintings were discovered later in North India. In the south, rock paintings were discovered at Maraiyur in Anamalai hills and Krishnagiri. Among the rock paintings so far discovered only in Keezhvaalai some signs similar to Harappan symbols are found. They may be or may not be Harappan symbols. In one of the letters written to me by Dr.H.D.Sankalia, Deccan College, Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, he has said that he has compared the signs on the paintings near Madras (Keezhvaalai) with the sign list given by Dr.I.Mahadevan and that there is no exact resemblance with any, but from the sign list, Nos. 5, 28, 29, 151, 307 do bear some resemblance with the Indus symbols. He has also said that whereas in the Indus symbols there are just lines, in the paintings the figures are much fuller, possibly due to a development from the Indus signs. He is however of the view that we should have much fuller data for hazarding any opinion.

The first sign in the Keezhvaalai painting occurs in a combination symbol (M.D.). A similar sign occurs with three cross lines in the phonecian alphabet. This Harappan sign occurs in seals Nos. 12, 54, 65, 69, 87, 400, 417 etc. (Marshall) in combination. The second sign of the painting is repeated as the fourth sign in inverted direction. This sign is flat in Harappan script but the signs are slanted in the Keezhvaalai painting. This sing occurs in Sumerian seals also. The 'M' like third sign in Keezhvaalai painting occurs as the first sign in a combined sign in seal M.D.No.14 (Marshall) which Rev.Fr.Heras interprets as meaning mountain which is quite plausible. The 'M' like sign is seen in quite a number of Greek alphabet as 'N' with the name 'Nine'. (Vide the Hindu Sept.5. 1982).

The last sign is similar to the symbol occurring in M.D. This sign occurs as the sign in M.D.No.10 and M.D.No.48 as the last sign in Harappan seals. The only difference in the Harappan sign is that the cross lines inside the circle are six whereas in the pre-historic painting it is four. Such sings occur with eight cross lines also in Harappan seals It is significant to note that this sign occurs as the last sign in the pre-historic painting also., A sign with eight cross lines within the circle has also been found among the Harappan seals.

The 'D' sign cross lined before the boatmen seems to be similar to the sign with cross lines as in the sign in two seals but the difference in this sign to the sign in Indus seal is that it is a combined sign with 'D' figure held by a man whereas in the pre-historic painting the sign is connected with another sign not seen in the Harappan script. Both the combined sign in the the painting and the Harappan signs are combined signs. The 'D' sign occurs in other paintngs in Keezhvaalai also.

The head gear of the diety in terracotta fig. 22 in the Rev.Fr.Heras's Book though similar

seems to be different from the figure in second part of the Keezhvaalai painting. The painting seems to be that of a Goddess. The line seems to be the name of the painter as it occurs repeatedly in other paintings in Keezhvaalai. Down nearby the sun with seventeen spokes is found. A man seems to worship the sun sign although this sign does not occur in Harappan script.

In so far as the painting of the boat with four men in the boat such paintings of boat occur in plenty in Egyptian paintings (Fig.146.Fr. Heras) which are far anterior to the Harappan civilization. I feel that the big sign before the four persons indicates the direction by which they have to travel. The beak nosed figures seem to have been influenced by Egyptian painting. The hawk nosed figures of Gods and Goddesses like Horus and Osiris occur in Egyptian paintings. One figure next to the goddess figure above the sun looks almost similar to Figure 201 in Mohenjodaro which has been interpreted as a native of the Egyptian valley by Rev.Fr.Heras.

The sun sign (Fig.230) in Egyptian pre-his toric painting is interpreted as 'Ra' the sun, hawk headed in the boat travelling through the sky daily but in the figure of man rowing with long pole is shown as in the painting of Keezhva-alai. Hence I feel that the painting has the influence of Egyptian civilization also. 'Ra' (Fig.235) symbolized by the hawks head in a boat journeying through the universe is seen in the Egyptian paintings. Both on the prow side and back side also the fish signs are seen in Egyptian seals which are very significant.

I feel that the first part of the painting depicts a man in horse for sacrifice to the Mother Goddess. The man taken for sacrifice on a horse by a priestess with horned gear who hands over to the man with beaked nose for Mother Goddess worship which is entirely a tentative conclusion. It is significant to note that the villagers call it 'Iraktha kudaikal' and they feared to go near the rocks as they thought the paintings are done with human blood without understanding the red ochre used in the paintings. The horned head gear and hawk like beaked noses are seen in Egyptian paintings but in Harappan seals only the horned God who is considered as the prototype of Pasupati is seen. The second part is the clearly demarcated painting. It is the Mother Goddess prominently with strange head gear with the sun down below. Beyond the sun a man is seen worshipping the Goddess. The sign of the sun may signify that the sacrifice was done in day time. Relating to the thirt part I feel that four sacrificed persons were sailing to paradise and the sign before the boat indicates the direction.

Dr.B.B.Lal has found in megalithic pottery Harappan decorative symbols but not hieroglyphic writings down to the south upto Godavari valley. Dr.Mortimer Wheeler found evidence of external contact and placed the megalithic period at the earliest in the 3rd century B.C. Subsequent discoveries showed that megalithic culture had a start at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. at the end of the previous neolithic and chalcolithic period. A carbon 14 date of 1105-935 B.C. which is available of overlap between the megalithic and earlier neolithic-chalcolithic cultures was found at Hallur. The Megalithic period extended almost throughout first millennium B.C. Grey ware pottery was found at the site which is combined with the horse may have to be fixed round about 1200 B.C.due to ceramic similarities with Sialk Vib. Further the typically South Indian megalithic black and red pottery ware was found in the site.

The use of huge stones signifies megalithism. In Keezhvaalai huge stones are found everywhere. Evidence of Urn burials was also be found in the broken pieces of typical black and red ware pieces which show chalcolithic survival

in Keezhvaalai. This shows it is typically a megalithic site. The typical black and red ware too had come down from the earlier period of the neolithic-chalcolithic period.

Graffiti on pottery was known in megalithic times. It has been suggested that writing is unknown to the neolithic-chalcolithic man and even to his megalithic successor. As far as the latter is concerned the contention can hardly be maintained since the sudden knowledge of writing in the historical period starting from historical period of Asoka cannot be explained without a preparatory stage in earlier megalithic period. In fact the preparatory stage went much earlier into the neolithic-chalcolithic age. The graffiti are evidence of writing as these signs can be shown to be connected with the Harappan hieroglyphic writing which has been found out by the Pondicherry Historical Society for the first time in the south beyond Lothal in Gujarat.

The signs depicting humans with flying hair appear on the past Harappan cemetery H ware though not on cream slipped ware while the cream slipped ware itself went to the chalcolithic area from Kathiawar and the figure painted on it seems to be foreign. Dr.Sankalia has accepted tentatively the conclusion of Rev.Fr.Heras with regard to Harappan civilization though its reading may not be correct. Unless a rosetta seal is found the Indus script cannot be deciphered finally.

The painting of the horse shows they were bearers of iron age culture around 500 B.C. on the evidence of Paiyampalli excavation. Apart from Paiyampalli testimony there is another evidence which may point to a further neolithic-chalcolithic migration to Tamil Nadu vide the red pottery and copper finds, dug up at Gorimedu and Mangalam in Pondicherry State. Most of the evidence show that the painting belongs to iron age which is around 500 B.C. It is astonishing to note that the Harappan pictographic script migrated to Tamil Nadu in Keezhvaalai painting. It is further intriguing as Tamil Brahmi inscription without pictographic writing was read correctly in Pugalar of 4th B.C. Hence the conjecture of Dr. Nagasamy that the paintings were drawn between 1000 and 500 B.C.may be correct. But the period could be ascertained only by carbon dating of the pottery and the rock painting itself.

The Ten Tens (135 - 165 A.D.)

V. K. SIVAPRAKASAM

PATIRRUPPATTU, the TEN TENS, is an anthology of the hundred poems composed equally by ten Tamil poets, of which the first and last tens probably on Utiyan and Yaanaik-kan Maantaran Ceeral Irumporai (ELEPHANT-EYED CEERA KING OF THE IRUMPORAI DYNASTY) are now missing. The themes of the ten decades are the heroic exploits of ten ancient Ceera kings of the CANKAM PERIOD (180 B.C.-290 A.D.)[I] The poems are rich in archaic linguistic and stylistic features that defy facile translation. An attempt is made to render into English prose the TEN TENS and their prologues of comparatively later origin with notes wherever necessary.

THE SECOND TEN
PROLOGUE[II]

A-METRICAL SECTION

KANHNHANAAR of KUMATTUUR[1] composed ten verses on IMAYAVARAMPAN CEERALAATAN, [2] the son of UTIYANJCEERAL,[3] of lasting great fame, flawless true words and sweet sounding drums, born to VELHIYAN VEENHMAALH NALLINI.[4] The heroic feats of the appalling and strong-limbed IMAYAVARAMPAN NEDUNJ CEERALAATAN who destroyed his foes are:

1. Engraving the Bow[5] on the Himalayas where streams flow placidly and establishing his sovereignty there to glorify Tamilakam bounded by the roaring seas.
2. Subduing the Aryas[6] of excessive excellence and great ancestral fame.
3. Punishing the imprisoned YAVANAS[7] of unpleasant, harsh words by making them carry loads of oil[8] on their heads and fastening their hands at the back.
4. Accepting invaluable jewels[9] and gems from them (as ransom)
5. And bringing back the ransom to his capital[10] and gifting them to others.[11]

SECTION IN PROSE

The verses are:

BLOOD SPOUTING FROM WOUNDS
MULTI-FACETED FAME BORN OUT OF [HEROISM
BLOSSOMED NEYTAL
THE SHIELD OF HEROES
HELLISH SEA OF FORCES
SLUMBER-SWEET BED
MASSIVE VICTORY-GIVING DRUM
SONGSTRESSES WITH LOCKS OF HAIR
PROSPERITY-LOST LANDS
ARROGANTLY BROAD-CHESTED KING

I. Subramoniam Dr.V.I. 'Dating of Sangam Literature' Paper read at the III International Conference - Seminar on Tamil Studies, Paris, 1970

II. The practice of writing a prologue in verse followed by a section in prose is an old one found in CILAPPATIKAARAM. It is also probable that the two sections might have been composed by two persons.

These are the titles [12] of the verses. The prize received for the poems: The king gifted five hundred villages in UMBATKKADU [13] as tax-free lands [14] and part of the income from the Southern country for thirty-eight years. IMAYAVARAMPAN NEDUNJ CEERALAATAN ruled supreme for fifty-eight years.

NOTES

1. KUMATTUUR is either the place of birth or place of long residence of the poet, KANHNHAN(AAR).

2. IMAYAVARAMPAN NEDUNJ CEERALAATAN means the tall Ceera king 'AATAN' with the Himalayas as his limits.

3. UTIYANJCEERAL is the head of the main ruling dynasty of VANJCI while ANTUVAN is the head of the other Ceera dynasty of TONHDI.

4. VELHIYAN VEENHMAALH NALLINI means NALLINI, the daughter of VELHIYAN of the VEELH clan. VEENHMAALH is a combination of VEELH and MA(K)ALH.

5. Bow: the royal insignia of the Ceeras.

6. ARYAS: The identity of the Aryas alluded here is not definitely known now.

7. YAVANAS: Originally, YAVANAS (யவனர்) meant the Greeks from IONIA, subsequently the Romans as well, later the Muslims (சோனகர்) and finally all foreigners (மிலேச்சர்).

8. CARRYING LOADS OF OIL: It is a form of punishment or an act of humiliation comparable to a similar one meted out, by CEERAN CENCKUTTUVAN of CILAPPATIKAARAM fame, to the kings KANAKAN and VICAYAN.

9. JEWELS: 'நன்கலம்' in the original means jewels as well as ships.

10. CAPITAL: Literally 'முதூர்' means an ancient town or village. Here it implies VANJCI, the capital of the Ceeras.

11. OTHERS: Bards, songstresses, poets, heroes of war and bounty-hunters are implied.

12. TITLES: Literally 'பாயிரம்' in the original means 'preface or introduction'. In the context it means the titles of the verses detailed.

13. UMBATKAADU - 'உம்பற்காடு' - means the forest infested with elephants 'UMBAL' (உம்பல்) means elephants.

14. TAX-FREE LANDS: The compound word 'பிரமதாயம்' means the inheritance of the learned, especially the brahmins, gifted to them by the kings.

VERSE NO. 11 BLOOD SPOUTING FROM WOUNDS

The fabulously famous, furious and valiant VEELH,[1] whose vehicle[2] is the bull-elephant entered the rough dark ocean of cool swelling waters and vast expanse, where the strongly blowing winds shattered the mountainous billows into tiny white ripples and hewed down the huge trunk of CUUR'S (protective) tree[3] defended by the awesome AVUNHAS.[4] O! NETUNJCEERALAATA with garlanded chest famous for your filtered liquor and conquering forces! In the battle against the encountering foes, you, comparable to VEELH, pierced their pre-eminent chests[5] with the sharp blade of your weapon. **The blood spouting from the wounds**[6] mingled with the dark waters in the deep saltern turning it into a mixture of vermilion.[7] The task force sent by

you with excessive valour and vigour destroyed their fortifications and cut down the thick trunk of the heavily guarded KATAMPU[8] in blossom and a resonant victory-giving drum was made (out of its wood). We have seen well for ourselves your much-praised wealth when you were triumphantly returning seated on the gold-jewelled nape of the victorious and unblemished tusker with the many green garlands on its breast shining along with its frontlet after vanquishing the arrogantly boastful monarchs of the lands lying between the renowned HIMALAYAS-thickly populated with ARYAS[9] on the slopes of which amidst the densely grown MURUKKU[10] the yac dreams of meadows rich in NARANTAM[11] and sparkling wide streams - and the beautiful Southern KUMARI.[12]

NOTES

1. VEELH refers to GOD MURUGAN; literally it means 'the one who is liked by all.' Speaking in specific terms MURUGAN is called CEVVEELH, the fair one and MANMATAN-the God of love is called KARUVEELH, the dark VEELH.

2. VEHICLE: Murugan's vehicle is the peacock. Here it is said to be the elephant. The word 'களிறு' means 'a male animal' applicable in the broadest sense to the male elephants and pigs. Specifically it denotes the male of an elephant and is comparable to be English usage of the bull/cow. Bull/cow in its broadest sense means the male/female of animals such as the ox, elephant, whale, walrus etc., and specifically it denotes the male-female of the bovine quadruped.

   The bull-elephant mentioned here is called 'PINHIMUKAM' by the ancient commentator.

3. PROTECTIVE TREE: According to the ancient commentator the mango tree is the one implied here. The later mythological interpretation is that CUURA took the form of a mango tree when he came under the heavy attack of God Murugan. The translation corresponding to this interpretation would read: 'the huge trunk of the mango tree which is the form taken by 'CUUR' (i.e., CUURA).

4. AVUNHAS: The mythological 'asuras' a class of demigods, who are the foes of the 'devas'.

5. PRE-EMINENT CHESTS: Literally 'அரு நிறம்' in the original means a rare chest. It implies the chest of an eminent warrior who can rarely be defeated. A wound on the chest is considered by such a hero as a symbol of heroism while one on the back implies a cowardly retreat.

6. THE BLOOD SPOUTING FROM WOUNDS: The source of the blood is the wounds on the chests of the pre-eminent foes. The profuse bleeding from the deep cuts is sufficient to turn dark water into a mixture of vermilion. Hence the phrase is pregnant with poetic significance and implies great personal valour.

7. MIXTURE OF VERMILION: 'மணாலம்' in the compound word 'மணாலக்கலவை' means either 'குங்குமம்' CRIMSON POWDER worn on the forehead as a spot of wafer, or இங்குலிகம்-VERMILION. The latter is preferable and has the authoritative support of other poets as well. 'கலவை' means a mixture.

8. KATAMPU: It is the protective tree, the EUCENIA RACEMOSA, sacred to the KATAMPAS, a clan of pirates named perhaps after their worshipful tree. The reference to the KATAMPU is an evidence of tree-worship, a form of animism and totemism prevalent in certain areas in ancient times.

9. ARYAS: The identity of the ARYAS mentioned here is not known now.

10. MURUKKU: The ERYTHRINA INDICA.

11. NARANTAM: A species of grass.

12. KUMARI: It does not denote the CAPE CAMORIN of our times, but the land of KUMARI where the river, KUMARI, flowed in ancient times.

VERSE NO. 12 MULTI-FACETED FAME GROWNING OUT OF HEROISM

O! Wrathful monarch who hewed down the trunk of the KATAMPU of the kings whose heads shudder out of fear and whose military aides seized lands after overcoming foes in sword-fights! Just as herds of various animals overwhelmed with fear lie in retreat on the slopes where the lion with mane-adorned nape and long, pointed claws roams about, panic-stricken kings from all directions spend sleepless night in their stately palaces famous for the sound of drums.

The multi-faceted fame(1) **growing out of your heroism** is pleasant to the ear. On hearing of the splendour of your wealth my kinsfolk set out to meet you. Trudging(2) across many hills where the cow-elephants surrounded by their young ones drive away with fragrant forest jasmines the bees and beetles swarming the majestic bull-elephants with fresh and fine hair and youthfully swaying gait my numerous dark-skinned kingsfolk took rest over there. To appease the distress caused by long-drawn out a hunger(3) we ate the white rice of like-coloured paddy(4) cooked along with white-coloured succulent meat and mutton(5) which were shorn into pieces with a sharp knife and also drank the filtered liquor prepared from a mixture of buds and honey. Stripping off their ragged earth-eaten garments(6) that resemble the rain-soaked feathers of a hawk, the womenfolk with spotless reputation and shoulders as smooth as the curved bamboo wore on their loins white silken garments and also glittering jewels given by you.

Hence greatly attracted towards you we find your majestic sitting at court surrounded by your councillors entrancing.

NOTES

1. MULTI-FACETED FAME: The Ceera king's renown for his wealth, personal and public qualities inclusive of his munificence and education in military science grow out of his heroism in the battle field. Hence his fame is multi-faceted.

2. TRUDGING: Literally 'நீந்தி' in the original should be translated as 'swimming across' which implies the facing of difficulties.

3. LONG-DRAWNOUT HUNGER: Literally 'தொல்பசி' means 'ancient hungers and denotes hunger lasting several days'.

4. LIKE-COLOURED PADDY: The identity of the variety of the white-coloured paddy referred to here is not known now.

5. MEAT AND MUTTON: If the phrase 'கொழுங்குறைமையூன்' is interpreted as a usage of appositional compound or syntactic parallelism (இருபெயரொட்டுப் பண்புத் தொகை தொடர்) it would simply mean 'mutton'-meat which is mutton.

6. GARMENTS: 'சிதார்' means a thin bark of certain trees'.

7. SILKEN GARMENTS: The phrase 'நூலாக்கலிங்கம்' literally means 'garments not woven out of cotton yarn'. It implies silken garments.

VERSE NO. 13. BLOSSOMED NEYTAL

Pasture-lands with herds of cattle have become fields where waters teem with frisking lampreys. Small fields where oxen(1) fought

amongst themselves have *become fit for sowing* without plouging. In the places where the blossomed NEYTAL[2] grows in the beds for sugarcane herds of big-eyed oxen, drawn towards them, do not proceed further. In the fields where boisterous performances of TUNHANGKAI[3] took place aged cows with drooping heads consume the fallen water-lilies.[4] The land of such villages, abounding in sprouting coconut palms, MARUTAM[5] traces noted for the twitter of birds and flower-ridden ponds with outlets, has lost its grandeur of poetic fame consequent to your frightfully furious onslaught. Hence the *agricultural* districts are now arid and are as lifeless as the pale *body destroyed by* KUURRU-THE SEPARATOR.[6] The plantations with a rich growth *of blossomed* sugarcane are now unenlivening and overgrown with tall UDAI[7] trees and shrubs of VIDATTAR[8] with twisted fruits. Reduced to a ruinous state they have become battle-fields covered with a layer of dust and a thick growth of thistles where the devils with horned heads[9] and vampires roam. Free from all noise and pieces of dung[10] the village commons remain deserted, Hence these frightening places dampen the spirits of the vigorous who think of going over there and destroy *their courage when* they proceed.

But, O! Lord, prosperity blooms in the diseae-free and hunger-free land guarded by you where *forests are the abodes of Gods,*[11] forest-tracts are the dwelling places of *tillers and their brilliant-jewelled* women, and highways are likewise;[12] where, further, you extend your protection to the class of grain-sellers and the dependants of the land-lords; and where because VENUS[14] does not move into the HOUSE[15] where the FIERYONE[16] has already moved into rain showers in season in the fields where it is longed for.

NOTES:

1. OXEN: Generally 'ஏறு' means 'the male of an animal. Here it means oxen.
2. BLOSSOMED NEYTAL: The blossomed Neytal-NYMPHAE ALBA, in the puddles formed in the beds meant for sugarcane are so numerous and gratifying that they restrain them from grazing on anything else.
3. TUNHANGKAI - a king of folk-dance or devil-dance-striking the elbows on the ribs, the best hands being raised.
4. FALLEN WATER-LILIES: The water-*lilies fallen* on the ground from the tresses of the dancers.
5. MARUTAM: a species of tree that grows *predominantly in agricultural districts*-TERMINALIA ALATA
6. KUURRU-THE SEPARATOR: The God of Death is called 'KUURU' for he separates the life from the body of all beings.
7. UDAI: a species of thorny tree - AÇACIA
8. VIDATTAR: a species of thorny shrub, RHAMMUS CIRCUMCISSUS
9. HORNED HEADS: Literally ''கவைத் தலை' means 'forked heads' A modern commentator interprets it as 'upright cloven plaits.'
10. PIECES OF DUNG: 'தாதெரு' may also mean 'anther of flowers (தாது) and dung (எரு).
11. ABODES OF GODS: An alternate interpretation would be 'abodes of Godly men-hermits' for 'கடவுள்' means God or those comparable to God.
12. LIKEWISE: It means the highways are either fear-free or busy with traffic.

13. DEPENDANTS OF LAND LORDS: The literal translation of the phrase 'குடிபுறந் தரு நர்பாரம்' would be 'the burden of those who protect their subordinate classes'.

14. VENUS: The planet VENUS is astrologically supposed to cause rain.

15. HOUSE: The astrological position of a planet or the sign of Zodiac.

16. THE FIERY ONE: The planet, MARS red-coloured and fiery in nature. The belief that it rains heavily if VENUS AND MARS do not meet in a certain astrological position while on transit was prevalent in ancient times as evidenced by this section of the verse.

VERSE NO.14 THE SHIELD OF HEROES

You are as immeasurable as the four elements-earth, water, air and sky. Your glory is as shining as the stars, the planets,[1] the moon, the sun and the blazing fire all five combined. You are as liberal as the courageous and determined AKURAN[2] skilled in the art of war who provided succour to the TWICE-FIFTY[3] pre-eminent in war. O! war crazy and valiant one who humbled the might and pride of the TUMBAI-foes[4] reputed for victorious hand-to-hand fights[5]! You are capable of vanquishing even the SEPARATOR[6] when in anger he challenges you.

O the shield of heroes[7] with mighty strong limbs who wears on your chest where TIRU[8] dwells, the golden chain[9] made out of the crowns of seven of your foes![10]

O the husband of the fair one with beetle-swarming locks of hair hidden under glittering jewels and curved earlets hidden within the oily locks, whose beauty creates rivalry among the contending celestial ladies!

O the ploughman whose weapons are the plough, and whose columns of elephants are noted for their victoriously flying banners!

O the patron - king of songstresses!

Like your ancestors with brilliant gem-studded golden jewels and established sovereignty, who ruled this entire land[11] in the sea-surrounded world, may you secure lasting fame and live without any decline whatsoever as long as the world lasts.[12]

NOTES

1. PLANETS: The reference is to the five planets - MARS, MERCURY, JUPITER, VENUS and SATURN. The SUN and the MOON which are subsequently specified and the RAHU and KETHU - the ascending and descending nodes - are excluded.

2. AKURAN : The identity of AKURAN who went to the rescue of the KAURAVAS in the war against the PANDAVAS is not known definitely. Some scholars are of the opinion that AKURAN is KARNHAN.

3. TWICE-FIFTY: The allusion is to the KAURAVAS - DURYODANA and his brothers.

4. TUMBAI-FOES: The reference is to the foes who wear the distinctive garland of TUMBAI when they go to war.

5. HAND-TO-HAND FIGHTS: The phrase 'அமர்கடந்து' leads itself to different shades of meaning supported by the interpretations of ancient commentators. It may mean 'straight fights' and also 'victorious in earlier fights with others'.

6. THE SEPARATOR: See Note No.6 on Verse No. 13.

7. THE SHIELD OF HEROES: The metaphor implies that the king bears the brunt of the attack in the front of the battle field and shields his soldiers from the fierce attack of the adversaries.

8. TIRU: Generally means the GODDESS OF WEALTH.

   In this context it means the GODDESS OF VICTORY OR HEROISM - (வெற்றித்திரு அல்லது வீரலக்குமி)

9. GOLDEN CHAIN: An alternate interpretation would read: GARLAND OF CROWNS.

10. SEVEN OF YOUR FOES: The seven foes alluded here are not definitely known. Perhaps a PANDYA king, a COLA king and five chieftains of the VEELHIR Clan were conquered by the CEERA king.

11. LAND: Literally 'பொழில்' means 'a grove' and implies a land of groves! In ancient times INDIA was known as JAMBUDVEEPAM in Sanskrit and NAAVALANTANHPOZHIL in Tamil. NAAVALANTANHPOZHIL — 'நாவலந் தண்பொழில்' means THE FERTILE GROVE OF JAMBU-TREES!

12. AS LONG AS THE WORLD LASTS: A peculiar poetic form of blessing. An alternate interpretation would read: 'FOLLOWING THE FOOT STEPS OF THE NOBLE-MINDED'

VERSE NO.15 HELLISH SEA OF FORCES

Camping in the required regions for an year and breaking open the barred doors[1] at the entrance of the fortifications on which crawling clouds repose your **hellish sea of forces**[2] spread ahead with columns of marching elephants so as to annihilate the family of the kings who lost their spirits in a game of KAZHANKU[3] The colourful clouds of smoke in the regions set to blazing flames by you with uncurbed fury[4] are shred to pieces by the winds. The disfigured villages consumed by fire have lost their ancient grandeur. In the villages where the roaming highway men[5] use their flesh-stained bows as the plough is to the farmer, the PEER[6] creeps along with the white-flowered VEELHAI[7] and the green spouting CURAI[8] on the old houses with palm-leafed roofs. The red KAANTALH[9] lies there perished to the roots in the waterless furrows. I have come here seeing on my way such villages in the lands of your enemies who have incurred your enmity forgetting through ignorance your destructive prowess.

O king of warriors who rejoicingly beat drums to celebrate their exploits in the olden palace shadowed by the flutter of flags in the incessantly festive capital of your extensive, good land abounding in marine, mountainous, riparian and other products!

O the wealth of bounty- hunters! O CEERALAATA of garlanded elephants skilled in war whose tusks are sheathed in broken coverlets! But in the land which is protected by you noted for your much-praised, qualities, free from sorrows the peerless ones[10] of truthful words,[11] self-controlled demeanour,[12] prosperous life and the moral desire for freedom from hell always relish all things without any prejudice to their neighbourhood. Surrounded by their similarly virtuous relatives they live there ungrudgingly. I have seen for myself this good land of yours which is free from diseases and abounding in new sources of income and also heard the soft-spoken lyrists[13] bless you with a slurred lisp after their food and drinks with the words: 'MAY YOU LIVE LONG LONG FOR THE WELFARE OF THE WORLD' to the tune of their flawless strings. Attracted by your many good qualities worthy

of praise, O THE STRONG ONE OF undiminished fame who is comparable to the festive minded NEDIYOON[14] of spirited valour, excellent conduct, boundless bounties to all beings in this world dense with earthly atoms and big grants to noble and ennobled causes,[15] I have, simply, been fascinated.

NOTES

1. BARRED DOORS: The word 'மரம்' means a wooden cross-bar and also 'trees'. The translation corresponding to the latter interpretation would be: 'destroying the trees of the protective forest near the fortifications'.

2. HELLISH SEA OF FORCES: The forces that cause infernal horrors in the battle-field itself to the foes of the Ceera king are styled hellish sea of forces.

3. GAME OF KAZHANKU: A game played to test one's future fortunes with the nuts of the KAZHANKU-GUILANDINA BONDUCE, as the dice.

4. UNCURBED FURY: Literally, the phrase 'துன்னருஞ் சீற்றம்' means 'unapproachable fury' and implies so great a fury that nobody can approach a person with such fury so as to pacify him.

5. HIGHWAYMEN: Literally 'புல்லாள்' means 'vagabonds'. In this context it means highwaymen.

6. PEER: a kind of edible gourd.

7. VEELHAI: THE CLEOME PENTAPHYLLA

8. CURAI: a gourd-CUCURBITA LAGENARIA

9. KAANTALH: a plant which blossoms in November- GLORIOSA SUPERBA

10. PEERLESS ONES: 'புரையோர்' in the original may also mean 'faultless ones'.

11. TRUTHFUL WORDS: A modern commentator interprets the phrase 'ஒன்று மொழிந்து' as 'praising God, the Supreme one'.

12. SELF-CONTROLLED DEMEANOUR: Interpreting the word 'அடங்கிய' in philosophical terms a modern commentator says it implies a control of the mental faculties or 'three-fold organs'.

13. LYRISTS: Literally 'கலப்பையர்' in the original means 'those who carry musical instruments in bags' and denotes minstrels.

14. NEDIYOON: Kings are generally compared to VISHNU-GOD OF PROTECTION. 'NEDIYOON' literally means 'THE TALL ONE' and implies God Vishnu.

15. NOBLE AND ENNOBLED CAUSES: In the line 'புரையவின்-நல்கி' the word 'புரை' means 'something noble'. The ancient anonymous commentator interprets it as 'a place of worship' (தேவாலயம்) The corresponding translation would be: 'big grants to many places of worship'.

Ballad of the Kalinga War

(KALIṄKATTUPPARAṆI)

K. C. KAMALIAH

The First Kalinga War

The First War in Kalinga was fought by Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta. In 256 B.C., he invaded the Kalinga Country and annexed it to his empire. The loss of human lives and the destruction of the country with the attendant evils of savagery, brutality and carnage during the war proved a turning point in the life of Asoka that he set himself thereafter to the conquest of self rather than to the conquest of territory.[1] One of Asoka's edicts runs:

Kalinga was conquered by His Sacred and Gracious Majesty when he had been consecrated eight years. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number died.

Directly after the annexation of the Kalingas began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety and his inculcation of that Law (Dharma). Thus arose His Sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death and carrying of captive of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty. Moreover, should anyone do him wrong, that too must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty, so far as it can possibly be borne with. His Sacred Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control and peace of mind and joyousness.

So, Asoka was mentioned in the edicts as the Beloved of the Gods - **devānāmpriya.**[2]

The Second Kalinga War

Thirteen centuries later than the annexation of the Kalinga Country by Asoka, lying between the Mahānadi and the Krishna. another invasion came from the South under the leadership of Karuṇākara Tondaimān, the generalissimo of the Cōḷa Emperor Vijayataran. This Cōḷa invasion is the theme of a war ballad called **KALIṄKATTUPPARAṆI,** Paraṇi poems in general singing the victory over the vanquished, bearing the name of the latter.

Paraṇi Literature

The term **Paraṇi** (Skt. Bharaṇi - The second star, part of Aries) indicates particularly the type of poems in Tamil singing the wartime exploits of the conquering hero. It was through **Kaliṅkattupparaṇi** this mode of poetry was ushered into limelight. Nevertheless, literary evidences are not lacking for a greater antiquity right from the Sangam Period. On the day of the constellation Paraṇi, dwarfish malformed devils enjoy the feast of gruel cooked with the bones, flesh and limbs of the dead fallen on the battlefiled, goddess Kāḷi blessing her attendant spirits. The constellation has as its deities Kāḷi and Yama, the god of death and is associated with the elephant. A **Paraṇi** poem, as a rule bears the name of the vanquished and is composed in the **Kali-t-tāḷicai metre.** One born on the day of **Paraṇi** will rule over

1. K.M.Panikkar: A Survey of Indian History. Bombay. 1947.
2. Jawaharlal Nehru: Glimpses of World History. London. 1934.

the land - **Paraṇi koṇṭavan taraṇiyāḷvān,** is a popular saying. Grammatical treatises prescribe that a hero scoring victory over an elephant on the battlefield deserves a **Paraṇi** song. It is also said that a **Paraṇi** poem is sung in praise of one overcoming a thousand elephants on the battlefield. The poetical norm used with a judicious mixture of the real and the unreal in **Paraṇi** poems is "peculiarly Dravidian, as there does not appear to exist a poem corresponding to this type in Sanskrit literature".

Constituents of Paraṇi

A Paraṇi poem begins with invocation. Then follows the request for opening the portals to the spouses of warriors in slumber from their companions, communicating the news of victory in the war known as **Kaṭaitirappu.** Describing the nature and avocation of spirits - **Pēykalai-p-pāṭiyatu,** is said next. The sacred temple of Kāḷi, the goddess forms another section. The demons ventilating their grievances to the goddess narrating their woe of perennial hunger, **Pēymurai-p-pāṭu,** is said in one chapter. Kāḷi commands the demon returning from the battlefield to render an account of the happenings there. In one more section, the devil's narration to the goddess-**Kāḷikku-k-kūḷi-kūriyatu** gives the historical background and the final outcome of the war. The goddess with her attendant spirits visiting the battlefield is said in one canto entitled **Kaṭamkāṭṭutal.** In the concluding portion entitled Kūḻ - Gruel, cooking of the **Paraṇi Gruel,** its distribution and feasting among the spirits and benediction are told. Besides the order hereinbefore said, the arrangement may vary also. But for the spirit's narration, the other constituents are common for all Paraṇi poems. In some, **Intiracālam** - Witchcraft is an innovation.

Classification

Paraṇi poems can be classified under different heads. **Kaliṇkattupparaṇi** and the now extinct one in honour of Vikrama Cōḻan (1118-1133 A.D.) are poems of eulogy. To this category may also belong Takkayākapparaṇi. **Kaṇcavataipparaṇi, Iraṇiyavataipparaṇi** and **Cūranvataipparaṇi** - slaying of Kamsa, Hiraṇya and Cūran respectively, are in respect of the gods worshipped by the poets. **Annavataipparaṇi, Mōkavataipparaṇi** and **Pācavataipparaṇi** are philosophical poem.

Takkāyakāpparaṇi

Paraṇi of Takkan's Sacrifice has as its theme a mythological story. Oṭṭakkūttar, the court poet of three Cōḻa monarchs,on whom the title of 'Emperor of Poesy' was conferred, was its author. The conduct of a sacrifice by Takkan (Skt. Daksan) with the malafide intention of degrading Siva was thwarted by Vīrabhadra on Siva's command. **Takkayākapparaṇi** is in eleven parts The invocation part sings the praise of He, who is part of Umai (**Umaipākan),** **Vināyakar,** Murukan and Tiruñānasambandar, the Saiva saint. One of the goblins, which was an eyewitness of the performance of Takkan's sacrifice contrary to the tenets of the scriptures. He insulted his own daughter **Tāṭcāyini** (Skt. Daksayini), the Consort of Siva. The infuriated Siva summoned Vīrabhadra and commanded him to teach a lesson to Takkan. Vīrabhadra hurried thither with the entourage of Siva and reduced to smithereens the sacrificial altar erected by Takkan and massacred the gods who came to aid him. The dead gods were transformed into ghosts. This the kernel of the story. Tākkayakapparaṇi, as the other **Paraṇis** of the same genre, follows the usual tenor and pattern. Practically, there exists no difference in the formation of the chapters between this and the famous **Kaliṇkattupparaṇi.** A historian by instinct, Oṭṭakkūttar refers to the construction of a **tēr** - chariot at Tillai by Rājarajān II (1146-1163 A.D.), planning of a seven tier tower at the shrine of the Lord of Dance by Kulōttuṇkan II (1130-1150 A.D) and the building of the Rājarājēccuram Temple by Rājarāja I in the poem. Unlike the other Paraṇis

singing the glory of the victor in the end **Takkayākapparaṇi** gives the pride of place to the Cōḷa monarch Rājarājan II, instead of the god Vīrabhadran. In the councluding three verses, the author sings the praise of Rājarājan, the never drying Kāviri river, the goddesses of wealth and learning and the Tamil language. A part of the story from life of Tiruñanāsambadar also finds a place in the poem.

Iraṇiyavataipparaṇi

Paraṇi regarding the massacre of Iraṇiyaṇ (Skt. Hiraṇya) has also as its subject a mythological story in which Visnu assuming the form of a man-lion rushes out of a pillar and rends asunder the chest of Iraṇiyan and kills him. The Sanskrit works **Bhāgavatam** [and **Visnupurāṇam** the Tamil **Paripādal**, the devotional hymns of the Āḻāvars and last but not the least the **Kambarāmāyaṇam** speak of the destruction of Iraṇiyan by Nārāyaṇa for his anti-God utterances and persecution of his son, Prahalāda for his steadfast devotion to Narayana. The poem is in fourteen cantos of (1) invocation, (2) opening the portals, (3) to (6) singing of the dwelling place of the goddess Kāḷi, her temple, herself and the goblins, (7) witchcraft, (8) ventilation of the grievances by the ghosts, (9) ghost informant, the harbinger of news, (10) the goddess foretelling a gala feast awaiting the ghosts, (11) incarnation, (12) singing of the battlefield, (13) the battlefield and (14) distribution of the gruel. The poem is couched in Tāḻicai metre and contains 693 verses. The story closely follows the account given by Kamban in his **Rāmāyaṇam.** The author of the poem is not known except that it can be surmised from his references to Rāmānuja in his poem that he lived later than the 12th or the 13th Century A.D., later than the periods when Rāmānuja and Kamban lived.

Annavataipparaṇi, Mōkavataipparaṇi and Pācavataipparaṇi

Paraṇis of the slaying of ignorance, lust and attachment are in honour of the preceptors or religion allegorical in content. **Aññavataipparaṇi** and **Mōkavataipparaṇi** are said in more than thirty parts, the former containing 494 verses and the latter 849. **Pācavataipparaṇi** deals with the fight against attachment and conferment of the knowledge of Siva and victory thereafter. The internal enemies of lust, anger, miserliness, infatuation, egoism and envy are the Attachment King's deputies. Little knowledge is the minister of bad counsel. Wisdom is the preceptor's chief in command carrying out his orders. Annihilation of attachment brings in its wake the destruction of the king. **Pācavataipparaṇi** closely follows the two philosophical Paraṇis mentioned above and the Tamil **Prabōdha Chandrōdayam,** both in vocabulary and content. Such type of poems is like the Sanskrit **Prabōdha Chandrōdayam.**

Kalinga War Ballad

KALIṄKATTUPPARAṆI IS A POEM GIVING A VIVID ACCOUNT OF A CŌḶA EXPEDITION to the north Kalinga Country under the leadership of Karuṇākara Toṇṭaimān, generallisimo of the Cōḷa monarch. The invasion was a sequel to the non-payment of tribute to the Cōḷa empire by the then Kalinga ruler Ananta Varma Cōda Gangan. Kaliṅkattupparaṇi abounds with rhythmic excellence and the diction and display of metrical effects add to the majestic flow of a martial theme. Sweet and mellifluous and at the same time, pompous and high sounding where necessary, the loftiness of the work is reflected more than adequately from beginning to end. Blending of the highly imaginative with a historical martial exploit, the verses are in the **Tāḻicai** metre and the grandeur of the style and the majesty of the gait couched in swift, stirring and musical language, are a treat for the ear.

The author of the poem was Jayaṅkoṇṭān, who earned the appellation, **Paranikōr ceyan-kontan** - Jayaṇkoṇṭān only for singing Paraṇi, and the title of 'Emperor of Poesy.' He is said to have had Jaina leanings, but as he gives the first place to Umāpati in his invocation part of the work, he must have professed the Saiva faith. He was the court poet of Vijayataran alias Kulōttungan, who ruled from 1070 to 1120 A.D.

Of all the Paraṇis, in the roll call of honour, **Kaliṇkattupparaṇi** is at the top. The poem is in 13 cantos with verses closely nearing 600. The First Canto opens with prayer to Umāpati, Tirumāl, Brahma, the Sun God, Gaṇapati, Murukan, Sarasvati, Durga and the Seven Mothers, invoking their blessings for the monarch. The poet sings for the wellbeing of the men of scriptures and wishes for copious rains and the prosperity of the emperor and his land.

Opening of the Portals

The Second Canto begins with the story proper and as in Homeric epics, a later sequence is said first following the **modus operandi, In media res.** The fair spouses of warriors gone to the battlefield are addressed by their companions to open the portals for listening to the tidings of victory. Beginning with a pleasing and soft note, feminine beauty is sung in a charming manner with the choicest phrases in scintillating rhythm. Bristling with poetic excellence and oriental imagery in plenty, the poet depicts the fair sex in all their sculpuresque movements dealing with their love, jealousies and seeming quarrels. The verses defy translation, but a few of them freely rendered are worth quoting.

Emerging from the sea nectar-like,
Oh ye maidens! Your youthful breast
Is gambling dice. The slender waist
Resembles the kettle drum in size.
Stretch upto the ears your lusty eyes.
Fling open your doors nice.

You damsels twist and wear
Fragrant red blooms on your hair,
Tucked together the life so dear
Of young apprentice lovers out of gear.
Oh ye maidens with tresses fair!
Open the golden portals rare.

As a peacock, aye a peacock, from slumber [waking,
With your curly hair swinging, swinging,
To the tune of anklets tinkling, tinkling,
Oh ye maidens of rhythmic speech,
Open the portals please, we beseech.

(curikuḷal acaivuṟa acaivuṟa-t)
tuyileḻu mayilena mailena-p
paripura voliyeḻa voliyeḻa-p
panimoḻi yavar kadai tiṟaminō.)
(Transliteration)

The wounds inflicted by the eyes called spear,
On the chests of the spouses you revere,
Foment ye girls with your heavy balmy breasts,
Administer your juicy medicine of mouth.
Open the massive doors of gold.

True it was —
Avenging your husband's lapse,
You let his passion collapse.
False it was, ye choicest maiden!
Your pretended sleep till dawn.
Open anon the artistic door of gold.

Drowsy you were in amorous union,
Unaware of the garment slipped.
But then, you clothed as apparel soon
The rays of the silvery moon.
Oh ye maidens lovely!
Open your goldens portals comely.

As you get drunk, maidens fair!
The beverage of lips,
Intoxicating as liquor,
Honey'd word's in jitters,
Lustrous eyes are crimson,
White turn lips,
Equipoise slips.
Throw open the doors.

Maidens of mature intellect!
The dishevell'd hair a hand above
Trying to thrust in wanders;
The hand below meanders,
Struggling with the fluttering robe.
Even while slumbering in comfort,
Your radiant faces bloom bright.
Throw open your portals straight.

Damsels in blissful union!
With your jewellery intact,
Apparel in hopeless confusion!
The monarch of martial exploit,
Is secure at Kanci in position,
And Kalingam in dissolution.
May we sing the war ballad in unison.
Open the portals and join the session.

(The verse transliterated reads as follows:
kāñci irukka-k kalingam kulainta
kalavi madavīr kaḷar-c-cenni
kāñci irukka-k kalingam kulainta
kaḷappōr pāda-k kadai tiṇamin.

Pun on the words 'Kanci' and 'Kalingam' is made. 'Kanci' in the first and the third lines mean 'ornament' and the 'city of Kanci' respectively. 'Kalingam' appearing in the same lines mean 'clothes' and the 'Kalinga country' respectively.)

Of the Desert

The Ballad of the Kalinga War is narrated to the spouses of the warriors and the Third Canto is an imaginary description of the parched desert land looking like a flattened platter of red made of fire. Therein resides the goddess Kāḷi with her entourage. The Kalinga War put an end to the war against hunger waged by the goblins, satisfied by the goddess, enabling them to enjoy a rich meal of the gruel, cooked of the flesh of the corpses lying scattered on the battlefield. Dark clouds and the silvery moon race over the desert region and perspire thereafter heaving a sigh of relief. The ecology is complementary to the region. The scarcity of shade in the area is due to its fleeing away from the region, terribly afraid of the shadow cast by the spreading wings of the vulture flying above.

Of the Temple

The temple of the goddess Kāḷi where she sits in court is said in the Fourth Canto. Unlike this planet of the earth made as a temple by the Creator, this temple of Kāḷi is strikingly different from it. The side walls are built of a mixture of flesh and blood as mortar and the fallen heads of warriors on the battlefield as bricks. Tusks, ribs, bones and other parts of elephants have been used for covering the roof. The temple tower is raised of snow-white bones looking as if built of silver. Peacock-like necks, faces as of lotuses, creepers of intestines, greenery of tender faces of infants, are hung as tapestries. The temple is decorated with flags of winnow-like ears of elephants. Headless corpses of the devotees of the goddess stand in line, who cut off their heads with their own hands. On tops of poles surrounding the temple can be seen severed heads hanging with eyes open, on seeing which goblins forsaken of sleep heartily laugh.

Of the Goddess

A description of the goddess Kāḷi from foot to head follows in the Fifth Canto. Anklets of giant snakes adorn her feet. She wears as garment the elephant skin given by the three eyed god, worn tight with the intestines of-

elephants and snakes. Her upper garment is a snake spitting fire. With nectarine lips dear to her lord, smile playing, eyes as the sun and the moon, she has a lovely face. She plays with huge mountains as balls in her hands. Is there anything which can elude her, should she wish?

Of the Ghosts

The Sixth Canto sings about the ghosts. Ghosts look massive receptacles of hunger, getting leaner day by day. In groups, their hands and legs resemble a palmyrah forest. Their mouths are fathomless pits. Their backs and stomachs are two in name, but one in fact. Their heads pierce the sky; lips hang upto the chest. Many of them frequented the battlefields in wars won by the Cōḷa monarchs and were involved in accidents, becoming deaf, dumb, blind, lame and hunchbacked.

Witchcraft

One reads in the Seventh Canto, a senior ghost returning from the Himalyas exhibiting its skill in magic. It makes obeisance to the goddess Kāḷi and with her permission shows its manifold abilities in the art. Though the magic show was entertaining, the terrified ghosts among them prayed to the goddess for crying halt to it, which was granted.

The Cōḷa Pedigree

The Eighth Canto contains valuable information about the Cōḷa pedigree from the mouth of the senior spirit from the Himālayas on the authority of Nārada. They are in many respects in agreement with the accounts found in the inscriptions. As about Karikalan, fixing the tiger insignia on the Himalayas, the embankment of the Kāviri river, presentation of 16 lakhs of gold coins to the Sangam poet for his poem **Paṭṭinappālai,** deserve particular mention. Another piece of information to students of the history of Tamil literature is a reference to the imprisonment of the Cēra king Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai by Kōpperum Ceṅkaṇān and securing the release of his monarch by his poet Poykaiyār by singing Kaḷavaḷinārpatu - The Forty of the Battlefield. It became a fashion with poets of the mediaeval period to trace the origin of kings to mythological characters. Though a mixture of fiction and history, the pedigree of the Cōḷas in **Kaliṅkattupparaṇi** is source material for historians. Cōḷan Karikālan is a name worthy of remembrance. There was Karikālan-belonging to the Sangam period and later when the Cōḷas were a dominating power in the South they added his prestigious name as a part of the names they love. Leaving aside mythology, precious information is available in this canto about the great Rājarājan and his successors upto Vijayataran, corroborated by other works. Listening to the pedigree of the Cōḷas as inscribed on the Himālayas and communicated by Nārada to the senior spirit, the goddess Kāḷi paid her own tribute to the reigning monarch Vijayataran.

Ventilation of Grievances

In the Ninth Canto is said the ventilation of grievances by the ghosts to the goddess Kāḷi. They represented that were not fortunate enough to be born as the subjects of Vijayataran, but damned taking the birth as ghosts. They preferred death, but the goddess decreed death as dear to them. Because of their past sins, the Creator assigned perennial hunger to them. They craved the mercy of the goddess to alleviate their distress. In the meantime, the senior goblin from the Himalayas informed the goddess that on her way through the Kalinga country, she saw omens such as the lantern emitting black flames and the appearance of a rainbow at night. The goddess thereupon told the ghosts of an impending war against the Kalingas by Vijayataran. That would be a heyday for the ghosts.

The Monarch

The birth and life of Vijayataran said by the goddess Kāḷi to the ghosts figure in the Tenth Canto. Gangaikonda Colan's queen witnessing kingly features in her daughter's son prophesied that he would keep alive the Cōḷa dynasty from extinction. He was installed as the crown prince. The Cōḷa country was in doldrums on the demise of Gangikonda Cōḷan. Bringing back tranquility to the land, he ruled the Cōḷa Country with justice towards all and hatred towards none. While once hunting on the banks of the Kāviri river, Vijayataran wanted to continue the same on the banks of Pālār. Riding on an elephant with the junior queen Ēḷicaivallabhi seated by his side, the monarch was accompanied by his senior queen Tyāgavalli, seated on a female elephant surrounded by the spouses of chieftains, befitting her status. The regal party reached Kānci, said the goddess. A ghost in its anxiety interrupted the goddess. It shouted at the ghosts to make haste and hurry to the Kalinga Country to eat and drink to their hearts' content flesh and blood. Their mouths and stomachs are too small to consume the massive quantity of mountains of heads and seas of red blood, available on the Kalinga battlefield. The goddess thereupon commanded the ghost to narrate in full the story of the Kalinga War.

The Cōḷa Invasion of the Kalinga Country

What led to the Kalinga War is told in the Eleventh Canto, as narrated by the intruder ghost into the court of the goddess Kāḷi. The Cōḷa monarch Vijayataran was sitting in court at Kānci, flanked on either side by his queens looking like the goddess of victory and the goddess of wealth. The court reverberated to the tunes of music and dance and poets and artistes. It looked verily Indra's court. A high dignitary of the court, the mouthpiece of royal announcements, bowed before the monarch and craved his permission for presenting the rulers waiting to pay their tributes. On the monarch enquiring if there was any defaulter he was informed that the Kalinga ruler had not paid his tributes two times consecutively. The monarch demanded the production of the defaulter before him. Karunakara Tondaiman, the ruler of Vandainagaram and the generalissimo of the Cola army jumped to his feet and assured the monarch that he would destroy the Kalinga Country of seven divisions. The Cola army marched to the sounding of bugles and drums. Had the mountains turned into elephants? Had the winds all converted themselves into steeds? Had the clouds all changed into chariots? Had the oceans all metamorphosed into infantry?

As the earth was too small to contain,
Did the fighting forces look big?
As the fighting forces were large in numbers,
Did the earth small in size?
Fighting space was scarce for the warriors.
Save for the space in the sky,
No place was left spare on the ground.

The army rose; rising, broke the back of the earth.
Hills and jungles went under feet; directions all became barren.
The directions four shook; the seven seas dumbfounded.
The massive mountains cracked; up arose clouds of dust.

With Karunakara Tondaiman leading the army himself riding on an elephant, the invading forces in their onward march athwart the Telugu Country crossed the Palar, the Kusaittalai Ponmukari (Swarnamukhi), the north Pennar, the Kunri, the Big River (Krishna), the Godavari, the Pamba and the Gotamai and reached the Kalinga Country destroying fortresses and setting fire to villages. The people stormed the palace and told the Kalinga ruler of their sufferings. He rejected ministerial

advice to come to terms with the Cola ruler and talked of his invincibility. The din raised by the marching forces outweighed the roaring of the sea. The cries of 'Let go the cavalry and the elphantry!' went the air.

Edumedu medumena eduttatōr
Ikaloli kadaloli ikakkavē
Viduvidu vidupari kari-k-kuḷām
Vidumvidum enumoli mikaikkavē.
(Transliteration of a verse)

In Canto 12, the narration of the Kalinga War is continued. As an ocean lashing its waves on another, the two armies clashed with each other. The fury of the war and the heroism exhibited on the battlefield left one dazed. To cite one, a warrior lying on the battlefield, who lost both his thighs, flung one at the charging elephant and kept ready the other for a later contingency. Eyes of the warriors spit fire; and of the fire lightning flashed; bending of the bows roared as thunder; and the arrows played the role of rain. The Kalingas gave a stiff resistance, but could not sustain. The Kalinga army was routed and the ruler hid himself to avoid capture. Karuṇākaran himself led his army to victory. The Kalinga army men escaped disguised as Brahmans, religious mendicants, singing bards. The generalissimo of the Cōḷā army returned from the Kalinga country victorious with a booty of many elephants and enormous riches. Even before narrating the story of the Kalinga war, the ghost prefaced it with a statement that the narraters would require a thousand tongues and the listeners would have to hear for a thousand days.

Inspecting the Battlefield

Goddess Kāḷi inspected the battlefield in the Kalinga Country along with her entourage. Horrible was the sight and pathetic were the cries of the near ones fallen in the battlefield. A spouse saw only the severed dead of her husband.

"Where is the hand, swift and mighty, that held the sword?
Where the handsome chest? Where then the shoulders?
That never turned about, whosover be the opponent?"

Lamented the lady before the goddess.

The goddess commanded the ghosts to cook the *Parani gruel* and enjoy a grand feast. Gruel was cooked of the flesh and bones of the dead warriors and distributed. They sang the praise of the Cōḷa monarch and his generalissimo, Karuṇākaran of Vandainagaram, the architect of victory. They sang the glory of Lord of the Kāviri, who ruled the land around the Porunai (the Tāmpraparaṇi) and the lord who has his sway from Kumari to the banks of the Ganga.

A Chronological Summary

A chronological narration in brief may be useful. The Cōḷā monarch Vijayataran, after hunting on the banks of the Pālar and the Kāviri, arrived at Kāṇci, where he held his court. Vassals paid ributes to him. One of the absentees was the north Kalinga ruler, who wilfully refrained. On being asked by the ruler to produce the defaulter before him, the generallissimo of the Cōḷa army, Karuṇākara Tondaimān invaded the Kalinga country and returned victorious with a rich war booty. The Kaliṅga ruler saved his person by hiding. News of the Kaliṅga victory was conveyed to the spouses in slumber of warriors. Though of a later sequence, in the court of the goddess Kāḷi, a ghost described the battle fought between the invading and opposing forces. Incidentally the Cōḷa pedigree was said and the ruling monarch Vijayataran's life and exploits

also found mention. The goddess and her entourage repaired to the battlefield and enjoyed a feast.

No student of Tamil literature can afford to miss the war ballad, Kaliṅgattu-p-parani and the pleasing rhythm and melody as also the historical material contained therein. An English rendering of the poem, though defying translation to reflect the beauties of the original, may to some extent enable the reader to have a taste of it.

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Roots of Literary Criticism in Tamil

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1. We begin by taking a simple view of literary criticism by dividing it into two major activities both interrelated but could be kept separate. This bifurcation is rather similar to what linguists make between lexicography and lexicology. One type of activity of literary criticism is to talk of a work already available and the other is to elaborate on general principles and structures that govern the study of any aspect of literature. To comment on a novel by Mu.Varadarajan belongs to the former category but to discuss the general features of **novel** as a genre, even with reference to the novels of **a** language, belongs to the second category. This, indeed, is a naive distinction, but, we think, is not very wrong. This paper aims at identifying certain literary criticism-like activities in classical and medieval Tamil, and at exploring the measures adopted by these "literary critics". Our assumption here is that there were, indeed, literary criticism, like activities in classical and medieval Tamil to be found in the commentaries and that these could be viewed as the roots of literary criticism in Tamil. Elaboration of general principles of literature and of literary criticism, is done, in a manner of speaking, in the traditional grammars under **poruḷ, aṇi,** and **yaappu,** all three relating to form and sense of verbal art, and at times in the other parts of the grammar proper as well. To talk on a work already available is the job of a commentator, thus leading us to view the works of the commentators as works of literary critcs. (Such a view is offered also in Aravindan 1968.) There may be several objections to this view. However, our definition of literary criticism given above is, indeed, broadbased and, judged on that basis, our view is not altogether a far-fetched one.

2. To comment on a work already available is done in any one of **four** ways as follows:

(i) One could comment on the text and thus make a criticism of the same while teaching the text. Unfortunately the oral tradition followed in classical and medieval times is not recorded and hence the content that went into teaching a text and the procedures adopted are not readily available to us now. some extrapolation is possible through sutras of **Nannuul,** a 13th Century A.D. grammatical work (sutra 39 in particular).

(ii) One could comment on a work by writing commentaries on it. Writing commentaries, the types or components of commentaries and the classification of the commentaries are all referred to even in **Tolkaappiyam** of pre-Christian era, in its chapters on **marapiyal** and **ceyyuḷiyal.**

The present paper is based mainly on commentaries and seeks to give a list of techniques adopted by the commentators and elaborate these techniques as measures of literary criticism employed then.

(iii) One could also comment on a work by preparing adapted/adopted versions of an earlier work.

(iv) One could take a stray poem and discuss it as illustration of a point one wishes to make. This is done generally within a commentary.

3. We shall not go into the reasons why commentaries were caused to be written. The development of the commentary as a genre has a complex history with each stage adding new components and functions to the genre of commentary. But, in essence, as already pointed out, a commentary is a work of criticism of a work already in existence. Most grammars and prosody works define what a commentary is and suggest components that a commentary may have : **urai** is the word used to refer to a commentary and the word is also used to mean speech as well as prose, in addition to its reference to several other attendant and not so attendant matters. The earliest available commentary **Iṟaiyanaar Akapporuḷ Urai** is a commentary not on the grammar proper in the modern linguistic sense, but on **poruḷ** (a part of it, more correctly speaking) the codification of form, function and sense of literature, and belongs perhaps to the eighth century A.D.

There are commentaries not only on literary works but also on grammatical literatures. The poet himself may write a commentary on his own work. There may be a commentary on another commentary. A commentary may also be in poetic form for a poetic work. Commentaries are generally prose works. They may be on literary works with emotive content, both secular and religious. They may be on didactic compositions. They may be written also on texts in poetic form with no emotive content such as religious philosophical treatises. The origin and development of commentaries in Tamil is closely linked with the evergrowing exploitation of prose as a mode of expression in a language in which the poetic form was practised almost exclusively as the only literary mode. The language and content of the commentaries reveal the dynamics of language communication and of sociolinguistic history of Tamil, much more than the poetic works on which they were written.

4. We shall now identify the structural components of a typical commentary, as veiwed by grammatical works. Although grammatical works differ as to the number and kinds of the components a commentary may have and their progression, there are still overall similarities in the definition they offer. We shall consider what two major works of the 13th century A.D. have to say. According to **Nannuul** (sutra 21), there are fourteen components a commentary may have. These are (i) presentation of the original poem as it is, (ii) a succinct statement on the theme of the poem, (iii) parsing of the words in the poem (presumably line by line), (iv) word by word meaning, (v) a compendium of the meaning of all the words, that is, a straight forward statement of the meaning conveyed by the poem (presumably a statement of the literal meaning as stated in the poem and in the same order), (vi) giving illustrations, (vii) raising questions on the points of the poem, (viii) supplying answers to the questions raised (ix) supply of information and meaning not contained in the sutra in a literal manner; to supply additional meaning and matter wherever appropriate, (x) expansion of what is to be expanded (in linguistic structures and meaning), (xi) demonstration of the fit between the sutra and the chapter in which it occurs, (xii) a firm decision as to the correct meaning of the sutra when alternative meanings are possible, (xiii) indication of the function/usefulness of the sutra, and (xiv) presentation of quotable quotes from respected authors. Some have interpreted the above fourteen components as fourteen types of commentaries.

Another work of the same century, **Nampi Akapporuḷ Urai** (Commentary for sutra 1), presents a less programmatic short list of components of a commentary. These are as follows:

(i) A succinct and brief statement of the inner meaning of the sutra or the poem, more or less a statement on the theme.

(ii) Word by word meaning of the sutra/poem.

(iii) A compendium of all the meanings of all the words, resulting in a straight forward statement of the meaning of the sutra/poem.

(iv) Raising questions and supplying answers on matters not explicitly stated by the sutra/poem and clarifying and purifying the meaning of sutra/poem, involving necessary linguistic analysis of the phrases used in the sutra/poem.

Note that all the major elements of practical criticism resorted to in modern times are found in the above listed activities. Note also that the linguistic analysis of structures employed in the sutra/poem forms an integral part of the commentary. Note also that though the four steps given above are generally followed one after the other in a hierarchical manner, one or more of the steps could be skipped and the order jumbled. Thus there are commentaries which may not have all the above listed components. In fact, the item "word by word meaning" is generally skipped in early commentaries. Generally speaking, we start with a succinct statement, go for a word by word meaning, give a faithful compendium of what is stated and then investigate every detail of the poem for which linguistic analysis is also accepted as an integral tool.

5. Is there a distinction between a commentary made on grammatical sutras and a commentary made on a literary work? A grammatical sutra is more brief than a literary poem. A grammatical sutra, because of its non-literary (non-emotive) content, and because of its brevity, could be more tense. However, a poem, even when having a straight forward narration, could be more difficult in terms of retrieval and interpretation of its meaning. And yet both the forms have been approached more or less in the same manner, thus making no distinction between grammatical and literary commentaries. An analysis of a typical literary commentary by Naccinaarkkiniyar of 14th century A.D. on **Kalittokai** (Kurincikkali, Kurinci 1) reveals the following components: (i) identification of the focal point (theme) of the poem, (ii) giving the meaning of the words/phrases in the same order in which they occur in the text, (iii) giving reasons/relations for the content of the poem, (iv) identification of the poetic form, and (v) giving non-literal, idiomatic meaning (implied meaning) / interpretation for the poem. To do these, the commentator depends on the words, phrases and lines of the text. In other words, he makes use of linguistic analysis for an idiomatic interpretation of the poem. Note that all these, more or less, follow the programmatic step, suggested in both **Nannuul** and **Nampi Akapporuḷ**, listed in section 4.

Since commentaries were written for both literary and non-literary works following the same general scheme, it is indeed difficult to say which of the steps in writing commentaries were meant exclusively for literary works and which others were meant exclusively for non-literary works. Adoption of a common scheme for writing both literary and non-literary commentaries is a pointer to an underlying assumption that literary criticism was identical to any retrieval and interpretation of meaning of a text. There were only general processes, in the application of which the literary processes would have literary variables exploited and non-literary works would have non-literary variables exploited.

6. What is the function of linguistic analysis of the textual items in commentaries? This question has not yet been raised at all although a lead was given by that giant among Tamil scholars U.V. Swamynatha Aiyar (1935),

or perhaps even in the earliest edition of (1894). Aiyar has listed all the grammatical notes **(ilakkaṇakkurippu)** employed by the commentator of **Puṟanaanuuṟu,** (a collection of poems sung in pre-and early Christian era). This list is a mechanical reproduction of grammatical explanations for lexicon, syntactic and semantic as well as prosodic rules and measures employed by the commentator. From here, one could proceed to find out the poetic/literary functions of such grammatical usage in the text and show how such a grammatical usage illumines all literary aspects of the text and enhances its enjoyment. (See below for some suggested functions of linguistic information and analysis for literary purposes.)

A cursory glance of a commentary (Naccinaarkkiniyar's commentary on **Kalittokai)** clearly reveals that the major, if not the only, function of linguistic analysis of the textual items is to arrive at the correct meaning of the text. In this process of arriving at the correct meaning of the text, linguistic analysis has been exploited by Naccinaarkkiniyar for the following purposes;

(i) correct identification and interpretation of nominal compounds and compound verbs.

(ii) correct interpretation of participle constructions.

(iii) identification as to where the finite verb occurs and as to where the next sentence commences in the poem/sutra.

(iv) identification of the deviations in lexicon and grammatical categories and explaining away such deviations on the basis of the import of the poem/sutra.

(v) supply of appropriate case markers.

(vi) identification of the implicational meaning.

(vii) identification of different readings offered to the text and the choice of the most appropriate reading based on linguistic analysis and content.

(viii) indication as to how phonemic changes in forms are to be interpreted and how these changes are related to the implicational meaning of the poem, such as changes involving lengthening/shortening of vowels/ consonants.

(ix) explanation for deviations in number- use of singular for plural and use of plural for singular.

(x) suggestions as to which phrase governs what.

(xi) identification as to which word acts as an independent sentence (identification of single word sentences).

(xii) identification of morphophonemic changes dictated by overall poetic form (the kinds of poetic form) and content, as well as metric subcomponents.

(xiii) identification and showing as to how a particular usage is based on and approved by convention.

A detailed analysis will reveal many other purposes for which linguistic analysis of the textual items is resorted to in a commentary. Note that linguistic information is sought and presented only for those items the non-explanation of which may not illumine the interpretation of the text. Note also that, more often

than not, linguistic analysis is applied on the words, that is, a word-level linguistic analysis is performed on the text. Note also that the commentary follows not only the order of sentences as given in the poem, but also gives these sentences in prose generally in the same structure as found in the poem. If a poem of a certain number of lines consists of, say, only six sentences, the commentary follows not only the order of occurrence of these sentences within that poem, but it also generally contains only six sentences as in the original text. This is facilitated by adopting the same structural complexity of sentences in the poem in the commentary as well, that is, more often than not, participial constructions and constructions with other connectors had been resorted to in the commentary as in the poem. This observation is valid only to poems in which events narrated and the sentences uttered in the poem have a matching sequential occurrence. In poems in which the natural order of events narrated could be retrieved only through a reordering of sentences in the poem, this observation is not valid.

At least four functions can be assigned to a Linguistic analysis of a literary test in modern literary criticism. These are:

(i) identification and retrieval of at least the correct overt meaning of a literary text,

(ii) linguistic analysis to unravel language use for characterization,

(iii) linguistic analysis to retrieve the underlying psychological processes anchored at selected linguistic tags within the text, and

(iv) spatio-temporal placement based on language use.

Of these four, the first function has been ably exploited by the commentators of yore. The other three functions have been explored only occasionally. A list, just as the one we have presented in the beginning of this section, may lead us to posit that all the functions of linguistic analysis as found in modern literary criticism were practised by the commentators in Tamil. Such a conclusion, however, is not warranted and justified because there is some difference in the tenor of the use of these elements and in the combination and frequency of exploitation of these elements for commentary purposes. Whereas a modern critic may make use of these for a thorough dissection of the text from so many angles, almost to the point that nothing in the text is left to the imagination of the reader, the commentator restricts himself to an illuminative retrieval of the meaning and leaves the experience of enjoying and assessing the text to the reader.

7. We have already listed the following as literary criticism-like activities of the commentators:

(i) giving the focal point, theme, of the poem,

(ii) giving word by word meaning,

(iii) giving a straight forward narration of the poem generally in prose, and

(iv) identifying the idiomatic meaning of the poem, wherever necessary with the help of linquistic analysis.

The retrieval and interpretation of the meaning of the poem is a legitimate literary task. This legitimate task is preceded in the commentaries by an attempt to give word for word meaning for at least selected words. Both are resorted to in modern times for opaque poems which may even by couched in current language. The opacity of the classical and medieval Tamil poems was enhanced by a lapse of time and during this lapse nuances changed

so much as to require interpretation of even individual words. Note, however, that there has been no bar on making commentaries for contemporary works. And yet there are only a few commentaries made on contemporary works - commentaries are written after a lapse of time and most with the express aim of retrieving the meaning for a new generation. The fact that most commentaries are on works of the past and not of the contemporary times brings to light a general trend on the choice of work that could be subjected to literary criticism. That is, (v) only a work of the past and not of the present is subject matter of literary criticism, generally speaking.

In addition to this phenomenon that could be found in many languages with some history, in the case of Tamil, the opacity of a poem seems to have been accentuated also by the distinction maintained all through its history between literary Tamil and spoken Tamil on the one hand and the poetic Tamil and prose Tamil on the other.

The following practices are also noticed:

(vi) The commentaries attempt to identify the specific **tiṇai, tuṟai**, etc, of a poem and locate the poem in their compass. In other words, a function of literary criticism, then, was to assign the poem a classificatory label as well. Where authors were not mentioned, a guess at identifying the author was also made at times.

(vii) The commentaries identify the "beauties" of the poem, the "beauties" generally identified not in relation to the subtly of the expression of the content itself but in relation to some prosody/grammar - identified rules/dicta. Intricacies of the content and subtleties of expression are stated as a matter of fact, in almost non-emotive tones and they are seen only in relation to dicta in prosody.

(viii) Identification of the errors. Again, these errors are listed ultimately as one of the grammar/prosody-identified errors. (for a list of "errors" and "beauties", see **Nannuul** sutras 12 and 13.) Reference to grammatical/prosodic dicta is all that was made and any discussion of the poem revolves around conditions already set in the grammatical prosodic work.

One could point out only the errors, that are generally few from the point of view of the commentator, and not decry the book in its entirety. This is so because decrying is done at the stage of the choice of a book for commentary purposes, and not after the choice is made. The commentator does not choose a work if in his judgement that work is not worthy of a commentary. Once a choice is made based on his judgement, the governing principles of which are not explicitly stated but intuitively followed and even prescribed perhaps through oral tradition, the commentator is guided and motivated only by the priciple of trust which leads to the assumption that the original author is, indeed, infallible and that when good Homer sometimes nods, the nodding requires to be explained away based on the assumption of infallibility and the principle of trust. Here is a major difference between the practitioners of the literary criticism of the traditional school and of the anarchists of modern times. The dominant anarchism of present day literary criticism is based on mistrust of the author whereas the tradition insisted upon trusting the author. Yet there is a lot of similarity between the commentator and the modern discerning sensitive literary critic. Does not the sensitive literary critic pick and choose from among the mushrooming works of verbal art? He may, however, list reasons why he chose a particular book of verbal art for his act of literary criticism,whereas the commentator of yore would have seen such a listing superfluous.

labouring the obvious, or better still, an intrusion into his private judgements.

Decrying and finding fault was traditionally possible in two ways: One forum was when the newly composed work was presented verbally by the author before an audience of scholars for their approval. Once the approval was obtained, the principle of trust was applied and the work did not have to be subjected to wholesale criticism leading to its rejection. The other forum was when someone wrote a work exclusively to condemn the philosophy of a former work.

(ix) Relating the present to the past, the past works with the present work.

(x) Identification of the form of poetry employed. Indication as to whether it follows the pattern laid down in grammatical/prosodic works, or it has made innovations.

(xi) Identification of the literary genre to which a particular work belongs—whether a particular work is an epic, a didactic work, or an individual stray poem, etc. Indication also as to whether the poet had followed the prosodic definitions governing the components of a literary genre.

(xii) Suggestions and grounds for reordering the lines/words of the poem to retrieve and interpret correctly the meaning conveyed by the poem.

(xiii) Assessment of the various alternative reordering of the lines/words of the poem to arrive at the "correct" retrieval and interpretation of the poem.

The items (xii) and (xiii) are pursued on the basis of grammar and prosody listed in **porulkol**-retrieval techniques. The commentators use them also as a measure of literary sensibility.

(xiv) Identification of **utti** 'technique' employed in the work. At least one grammar lists 32 different kinds of literary techniques (**Nannuul** sutra 14) that could be employed in a literary work. Correct interpretation and retrieval of meaning of a poem is facilitated if one has a knowledge of these techniques. Whether a poem is correctly interpreted is also judged on the basis of the correct identification of the technique employed.

(xv) Giving justification of the deviations/innovations/errors committed by the author. We already suggested that the traditional commentator proceeds on the basis of the principle of trust and on the basis of the assumption that the author whose work he is making a commentary upon is infallible. Based on the priciple of trust and the assumption of infallibility, another major effort pursued, apart from the goal of correct interpretation of the text, is to find and justify why the author had deviated from well-laid dicta of grammar and prosody. The commentator employs the process of justification for all such deviations, innovations and errors. This is called **amaiti kuural**. Justification is offered for grammatical deviations and innovations, for deviations and innovations in the form of the poem, for the deviations and innovations made in the components of a literary genre, for deviations and innovations for words in usage and structure and metaphor, etc. In fact, offering justifications is a chief characteristic of literary criticism in the traditional school.

(xvi) It appears to us that there was, indeed, only a thin distinction between literary criticism and rhetoric in the commentaries. Criticism was rather rhetoric-based only.

(xvii) There was also a thin distinction between literary analysis and literary criticism, the former we take to be mainly a correct reading of the poem, whereas the latter we take

to include not only the correct reading of the poem but also an assessment of the poem in terms of the success or failure of the poet in conveying what he intended to convey.

8. To conclude, one notices various elements of modern literary criticism in the commentaries of yore. While the major aim of the commentator was to retrieve and correctly interpret the meaning, the commentator did not fail to employ other tools and supply information in carrying out his job. However, he restricted himself to an illumination of the test, followed the principles of trust, assumed that author was infallible and left the literary assessment of the work to the private experience of the individuals. He also restricted himself to the well-laid dicta of grammar and prosody and made repeated references to the dicta.

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Orthographic Variations in Tamil Records and their Phonetic Implications

G. Sankaranarayana

Paper records in Tamil language that belong to Maratha period are available in the Saraswathi Mahal Library at Thanjavur and the Record Office at Madras. Most of them are in the form of petitions made by citizens to the King and other higher officials. The language used in these records is very close to the spoken variety of that period. Attempt to give representation to the spoken forms of the language is found in many places of the records. This attempt resulted in many deviant spellings. These deviant forms represent the phonological and morphological variations of the spoken variety (for details see Sankaranarayanan, 1975:340-49). In these records, orthographic variations which offer the possibility of clues about phonetic variation attract our attention.

I have attempted in this paper to show the writing conventions that were employed to write the spoken language (confining to the aspect of spoken pronunciation) by the scribes while documenting the records. These conventions may be classified as follows:

1. Use of conventional Tamil graphic symbols in an unconventional way to represent the exact pronunciation.
2. Use of diacritical marks for the same purpose.

(i) In the paper records, we find sequences like /**mn**/ (ம்ந்), /ṉm/ (ன்ம்) /ṉṅ/ (ன்ங்) and /ṇñ/(ண்ஞ்) which do not occur in written Tamil. Written convention of Tamil does not permit such combinations but the record attests such unconventional combinations in the following words. The correct conventional spelling for each word is given in parenthesses.

na:mnta:ṉee நாம்ந்தானே (நாம்தானே) 'I (emphatic)'

piṉmpu பின்ம்பு (பின்பு) 'afterwards'

ca:maṉṅkaḷ சாமான்ங்கள் (சாமான்கள்) 'things'

peṇñca:ti பெண்ஞ்சாதி (பெண்சாதி) 'wife'

The spelling adopted reveals an imposition of some unconventional system in the writing of records under discussion which may be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the scribe to represent the pronunciation aspects of certain sounds in writing. To put it in other words, the scribe has tried to indicate the pronunciation of nasality of nasal sounds that spread to the following stop. From this it can be injured that the letter must have been pronounced in such a way that its sound value lay in between the homorganic and the existing nasals.

(ii) We also notice, in the records, a few loan words occurring with certain clusters which are not in keeping with the traditional Tamil orthography. For instance, the word sṯṯalam (ஸ்தலம்), a Sanskrit loan, begins with a three lettered cluster, a sibilant followed by a voiceless dental geminate. Here it looks as though the scribe wants to indicate that the 'ṯ' is an aspirated stop (which is the case in the donor language, Sanskrit).

(iii) In another instance, the initial sound of the loan word **Chaṯrapaṯi** 'emperor' is represented by a geminate as ccaṯṯiṟapaṯi (சசதிறபதி). This spelling is repugnant to the Tamil orthographic system of written language. It cast be infered that the scribe has employed

this device to indicate that the initial sound is a voiceless aspirated stop as it is so in the donor language. It could also be interpreted as an indication that the initial sound of the word is not a sibilant, but an affricate since geminated palatal consonants in the medial position are pronounced as an affricate in Tamil.

(iv) The front vowel and the back vowel occurring initially are mostly found written with onglides **Y** and **V** respectively and thus they indicate the phonetic value of **i/e** and **u/o** in the initial position, e.g., **Yitu** (*யிது*) 'this' **Yeṭam** (*யெடம்*) 'place', **vuṭṭiṟavu** (*வுத்திறவு*) 'order' and **voru** (*வொரு*) 'one. This is a regular feature in modern colloquial Tamil and is attested in early inscriptions also? In the records there are words with this onglide **Y** occurring initially before a or a: also which needs some explanation.

Yaṟaṉu:ṟu *யறநூறு (இருநூறு)* **'Two hundred'**

Ya:ṉa:l *யாஞல்* (*ஆஞல்*) **'but'**

Certain dialects of Tamil glottal initiator occurs before the central vowel a (Meenakshi sundaram, 1965). The scribe might have observed this feature and since he lacked symbols in the script to portray this phenomenon, he might have used the symbols for the palatal onglide to represent that feature.

(v) Another interesting factor to be noted is the allographic variations in these paper records. These variations, presented below seem to have developed to represent the nasalization process in spoken language. That is, the scribe had attempted to use certain manipulations in the diacritic marks to represent the phonetic nature of the spoken language. The word final nasal, especially the bilabial nasal, is lost after nasalizing the preceding vowel and in modern colloquial Tamil this is a regular feature. This tendency for nasalization and for the representation of such nasalized vowels might have started even in an earlier period (Shanmugam, 1968:276). In the paper records, the following devices have been employed to represent nasalization.

1. Omission of the final nasal.
2. Substitution of the final nasal with a diacritic mark. Or diacriticization of the preceding grapheme after deleting the final nasal.

Without the nasal

campaḷam (*சம்பளம்*) is represented as *சம்பள* **campaḷa**

po:lavum (*போலவும்*) is represented as *போலவு* **po:lavu,**

neṭukilum (*நெடுகிலும்*) is represented as *நெடுகிலு* **neṭukilu**

Without the nasal but with a diacritic mark (diacritized grapheme)

viparam (*விபரம்*) is represented as *விபரு* **vipaṟa'**

nilam (*நிலம்*) is represented as *நில* **nila'**

tiṉam (*திணம்*) is represented as *திஞ* **tiṉa'**

rompavum (*ரொம்பவும்*) is represented as *ரொம்பவு* **ṟompavu'**

It is clear from the above instances that the scribe by adding certain allographs and using certain diacritics, has made an attempt to express certain phonetic features of the sounds to suit the pronunciation which was prevalent then in the spoken variety of Tamil. He has done so because these phonetic features could not be expressed with the aid of the available conventionalized orthography. But earlier scribes, unintentionally or intentionally, but inconsistently, made this amendment in these writing practice.

From the illustrations given above it is clear that in the records the conventional norm of writing (which is more conservative and less flexible in nature) is boldly ruled out and that radical innovations have been resorted to. Tamil language is known for its long established tradition and rigid norm in written spelling. Hence a break in the tradition certainly creates doubts

and surprises in the readers minds. A close examination of the matter clears some of the doubts. In order to explain such radical deviations and innovations we have to assume a second group of scribal tradition co-existing with the conventional one but independent of the latter. The first group might have handled that variety of language which was a superposed one (formal one) and the writing system they followed was especially meant for that variety only. In such a context the graphemic pattern is less disturbed, with the result each word will have a (established) prescribed spelling. This group of scribal tradition did not keep pace with the important changes in speech that took place. In fact dialectal variations were suppressed, as importation of dialectal lexicon is always frowned upon. On the other hand the second group aimed at the written representation for the spoken signals and thus the main purpose of this group had become entirely different from the former. To achieve this goal the scribes of the latter group adopted a different strategy in their writings. That is, the existing convention was amended (or violated) to suit the needs which may not be acceptable to the traditional group. This resulted in a new scribal tradition coexisting with the traditional one. Due to this (nonconventional) tradition a tendency emerged which aimed at establishing a direct link between the spoken language and its written counterpart. It may not be wrong to assume that this latter group (the scribes of inscriptions, paper records, etc.,) maintained a separate identity (which may be called as inscriptional or documentary identity) to distinguish themselves from the conventional group and in this way they inherited a separate tradition.

If we see the content of the inscriptions, which were written following the second tradition, we find that these mainly dealt with royal order, king's victory, government charities, etc., which were meant for public notification. In other words this second tradition also was enjoying an official status. So we can presume from this that this group got due recognition in some manner. Further we find many common elements in strategies adopted in writing the spoken language in these records. So it is reasonable to suppose that there was indeed a separate scribal tradition in addition to the conventional one in the past.

In conclusion we may say that there are significant differences between the written and spoken languages. If the claim that the written language sticks to certain norms (written norms) is true, it is also ture that the spoken language also sticks to its own spoken norm. So when somebody attempt to represent the spoken language in writing he should do it as perfectly as possible. He cannot ignore certain important norms of the spoken language. To make it clear when one attempts to give visual representation for the spoken utterances then he should see that he is maintaining a perfect, a near-perfect parallelism. While it may be true that the spoken nuances are many and it is very difficult for a graphemic system to bring out all these, yet we believe that it is possible to bring out some important characteristics of spoken language in writing by adopting new graphemes or by diacriticizing graphemes.

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Colophon

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The Temple Produced by Divine Silpa or Architecture

Gowri Shankara Sthapathy

The ancient cities with their stately buildings and fine works of architecture in South India were washed away by the sea. We come to know of them from references found in ancient works of Tamil literature. We learn that all ranks of people appreciated the beautiful works of the 'Silpis' and praised the dexterous hands that made them and that their works had a salutary and beneficial influence on the civilization and culture of the people.

As far as my knowledge and experience go, the books on Silpa Sastra are all in the 'Grantha' language. The intricate and delicate touches of the art are handed down from generation to generation. It is therefore a traditional art, whose knowledge is confined mainly to the heriditary members of the Sthapathi families: and the Silpa Sastras in Sanskrit written in the Grantha language are not yet translated into Tamil or other languages.

Different branches of the Silpa Sastra.

There are 32 branches of Silpa Sastra. They are:

(1) Vrutham	(2) Viswabotham
(3) Viswakasipam	(4) Visalam
(5) Viswadharmam	(6) Viswesam
(7) Viswacharam	(8) Vajjiram
(9) Vidhyapathi	(10) Manasaram
(11) Manuman	(12) Manabotham
(13) Mayindramal	(14) Mayamanabotham
(15) Mayanmatham	(16) Mayaneethi
(17) Migudhavattam	(18) Kalayupam
(19) Kapeelam	(20) Karparyam
(21) Kalandhiram	(22) Nalam
(23) Banu	(24) Parachariyam
(25) Srushtam	(26) Chaithyakam
(27) Namasamhithai	(28) Sathvikam
(29) Adicharam	(30) Aridagam
(31) Sowmyam	(32) Chithram

The illimitable ocean of Silpa Sastra is not confined to these above. Viswakarma, Vidhyaprakasikai, Silpasaram, Silpatheepikai, Vasthurajavallabam, Vasthurathnavali, Vasthusaram, Srithathvanidhi, Viswakarmaprakasikai, Kumarathanthram etc. are other works on "Silpa Sastra". Some of them have come out in print. The others are preserved in volumes of palm leaves.

"Jyothisha Granthas" or Books on Astrology.

To determine the time factor in undertaking and executing works of Silpakala the first place is assigned to Jyothisha Sastra. Here mention may be made of a few useful books on Astrology.

(1) Kalamirtham	(2) Kalaprakasikai,
(3) Kalavidhanam	(4) Kumarasamiyam
(5) Marichi	(6) Athri
(7) Vasistasamhithai	(8) Bruhathsamhithai
(9) Mulasthambam,	(10) Suryasidhantham
(11) Muthurthamarthandam, etc.	

"**Vasthu Sastra**" *prescribes the first step* in "Silpa Sastra" in as much as the Sthapathi has to obtain a thorough knowledge of Vasthu Purusha before he plans a capital, a city, a village and a temple. The temple becomes that centre of the circle. This again becomes the centre of moral, social and spiritual activities

of the organization. It is the retreat after a hard day's labour. The deity within it becomes the source of inspiration and hope. To those that have ears to hear, the clear voice says with its irresistable charm, "Come unto me, all ye that are heavy-laden, and I shall give you rest". The wise old poetess Auvvai has said 'A place without a temple to resort to, is no worthy dwelling place to live in'. Silpa provides work to the unemployed; it engages the mind and provides work to the faculty; it becomes the meeting place for all kinds and all ranks of people; properly used, it becomes the centre of arts› culture and civilization of people; it becomes the abode of God or love and a sanctified heaven of peace.

Realising this the foreigners have taken away with them many of the ancient Granthas or holy books on Silpa Sastra. They have studied them and praised them; and the land that produced them shared the praise. But the people who produced them are thrown into oblivion. On the granite walls and pillars of ancient temples we can find the names of kings in whose times the temples were built; but we may gaze and gaze long with searching eyes for the names of the Silpis or the architects who had done those mighty works of wonder, but only to meet with a sad disappointment; for their names do not find a place there.

Origin of Silpa Sastra. The Silpa Sastra is mostly a traditional art and traditional science, handed down from father to son and from generation to generation. Based on hearsay and folklore the origin is traced back to the Lord of the Universe who made Virat Viswakarma, the divine architect the sole custodian of this ancient lore. Viswakarma in his turn taught this sastra to the great rishis Manu, Maya. Thwashta, Silpi and Viswagna, who in their turn taught Parasara, Brighu, Marichi, Kasyapa and other rishis. There are also a few books that throw light on this point.

The birth place of all arts. The Silpa Sastra is a comprehensive science, embracing within its fold Geology, Astronomy, Astrology, Mantra (magic), Yantra (talisman), Dharma Neeth (law of duty and conduct) and so on. To put it briefly, it embraces the six sastras, sixty four arts and ninety six tatwas or dogmas. Here the Agamas take their origin, and are followed in succession by Music, Painting, Sculpture and all other arts that are conducive to human happiness, morality, civilization and culture. Kriya or the creative art, Bavana or the creative imagination are only two aspects of the Comprehensive Art of Silpa Sastra. It is capable of lifting the artist to the region of Intuition, transcending the limits of perception, conception, appreception and imagination. Perceiving in that plane of his mental effort the Primeval Force or Energy called the Adi Sakthi and Para Sakthi, the artist with the help of his Ichcha Sakthi, Gnana Sakthi and Kriya Sakthi, with the help of his will power, with the help of his intellectual superiority and with this talent of Creative capacity gives a form and shape to the formless and shapeless divinity. He brings to the vision of the ordinary man in a concrete form, the fundamentals of life which Pandits and Professors acquire with lucubration and the transcendental insight of the goal of life perceived by the sages and seers after long by meditation and concentration. The humanity is, therefore, indebted to the Silpis and Sthapathis. But what is their lot in life today? Will the People's Government direct its benign attention to this benighted community of Silpis and Sthapathis, whose number is slowly diminishing, whose talent is slowly decaying with their ardour and zeal ebbing, as a result of their long struggle with poverty and want, with the indifference of the public and lack of their appreciation and support?

The temple and the house. As life and body are inseparable parts of a living unit, so to the Silpi the house and the temple are inseparable

parts of a social unit, whether it is a village, a city or a capital. The one is a spiritual factor. The other is the social, economic, political and cultural counterpart of the unit. So in the planning of a city or a village the Silpi takes a comprehensive view of the whole, lays out the streets, the plots for construction of dwelling places, water-reservoirs, grazing yards for common pasturage and all things conducive to a happy, healthy, civilised life. But he always assigns the first and foremost place to the temple, for the temple is to the social unit, what life is to the body that contains it. For much more to the wordly man than to the ascetic, the temple is the constant remembrancer of permanent values of life, of the indivisible, infinite, indestructible and eternal. My grand-uncle Swamimalai Silpa Sasthri Brahmasri Sadhasiva Sthapathi has composed many poems in Tamil, many of the ideas enshrined in the works on the Grandha script. There he has sung of the planning of cities, palaces, mansions, temples with their stately gopuras or towers, of the swords and other weapons of war, of the plough and other weapons of agriculture, of the throne and the dhurbar hall, of the weights and measures and other accessaries of trade, of the coins in currency etc. He has also sung of tools to detect the animal matter, the mineral matter and liquid and other matters lying buried deep under the surface of the earth.

The qualities of Panchaloka or five metals. It is said that if five become one, then the temple work will reach its culmination. The earth is constituted of the five elements, "Pancha Boodhas" (Prithyu, Appu, Theyu, Vayu, Akasa) The jivathma sees its Jyothi after it subdues its Panchendhriyas (feeling, tasting, seeing, smelling and hearing.) The cheif crafts are five. In the same way the idols to be installed in temples are made of five metals, melted and shaped by the Silpis into one divine idol. Before making the Panchaloka idols for Moolasthana or the Sanctum Sanctorium the practice in ancient temples was to make "Suthai Bimbhams" or idols made of a rare combination of chalk, lime, etc. known as 'Kadu Chakkara.'

Suthai Bimbha. This idol is made of a mixture of all kinds of minerals, the salt of the nine varieties of precious stones and all materials. When the stone idol is installed on the pedestal, in the same way a rare mixture of medicinal materials called "Ashta Bandana" is coated all around. A rare knowledge of medicine can be gained while studying this portion of the Silpa Sastra.

Navapashana Moorthy or the Idol made of the mixture of the Nine kinds of Poison. The idol of Lord Muruga on the Palani hills is made of nine kinds of poison purified, melted and moulded into shape. In this manner we find the Silpa Sastra an inexhaustible fund and repository of all the beneficient arts and sciences.

Six sects of religion. "Silpa" or the architectural and idol-making art is an impartial dispenser of service to all the six sects or creeds of religion, viz, the Saiva, the Vaishnava, the Saktheya, the Ganapathya, the Kabalika and the Saura sects. With a tolerance characterestic of their profession they had built temples for all their deities. We learn from Tamil literary works that many of them have been washed away by the sea. But all is not lost. The devotees of our land have been wise. On the tops of hills and mountains there is no such danger. So stately edifices of temples and forts arose on tops of hills defying the ravages of elements and gaining the reverence of age with the steady march of time. The great Saivite saint Sri Arunagirinathar in his devotional songs has made mention of not less than 1008 temples and the Vaishnavite Alwars or saints have made reference to more than 108 temples. Of the large temples, mention may

be made of the stately ones with their majestic halls, each supported by thousand granite columns, everyone of which is an exquisite work of art commanding our admiration. Here the Silpa Sastri gives an elaborate account of the linear measures used to determine the dimensions, of the prakaras, vimanas etc., and their characterisitic features. To satisfy oneself one has to visit the grand temples in Thiruvarangam, Chidambaram, Thiruvarur, Thiruvannamalai, Kanchipuram, Madurai, Suseendharam and a few other places.

Details of Pramana. 96 are the doctrines, 64 arts, 6 fundamentals, 9 dwaras or holes, 5 boodhas or elements, 4 vedas, 6 sastras, 3 gunas or characteristics, 2 castes, 1 Brahma or the Lord Supreme. All these 196 items should find their places in a temple.

About Vimana. To the Mother of the Universe the special vimana designed is Meru Vimana, Pranava Vimana to Mahavishnu, Gajaprashta Vimana and Gomuki Vimana to Maheswara, Chathurmugha Vimana to Brahma and Sundara Vimana, Chandra Vimana, Ananda Vimana, Kailasa Vimana etc. to other gods and goddesses.

Bimbathalam. The height of the vigrahas or idols of Brahma, Vishnu, Rudhra and Uma can range from five to ten thalas; five thalas for the childhood stage, six thalas for the boyhood stage, seven thalas for the youth stage and ten thalas for the fully developed mature stage.

Measurement of Yugatharma thalam. 10 thalams for Krithayuga, 9 thalams for Thrithayuga, 8 thalams for Dhwaparayuga and 7 thalams for Kaliyuga.

Measurement of Asuras. The height of the Bimba or idol for Asuras like Iranya Kasyppu, Iranyakshadha, Vrutha, Ravana, Sumba, Nisumba, Mahishasura Rakthabija, and *Surapadma can range to 16 thalams.*

Instruction is also given on the heights of the Vahanas. The Vahana may be of equal height with the Vigraha or it may be 1½ or 2 times its height. In the Krithayuga it was proper to select the white stone; in Thrithayuga the yellow stone of golden colour, in the Dhwaparayuga the red stone and in the Kaliyuga the black stone. Details are given about making Vigrahas or idols of wood, panchaloka or five metal combination, of copper, of silver and of gold.

The idol of the presiding deity in the temple should command a view of its vahana and the altar. The hall in front should be so constructed as to enable the devotees to get a clear vision of the idol.

Characterisitics of the Gopura or tower. Gopuras are of five kinds. They are Dhwarasoba, Dhwarasala, Dhwaraharmya and Dhwara Gopura. In constructing Vigrahas, Vimanas, Temples, Choultries, houses and digging wells and temple tanks of divine nature, care should be taken, that Viswakarmas with a sound knowledge of the arts and sciences of architecture are employed for the purpose. The 29th Chapter of the Silpa Ratna declares that members of other communities should not be employed and warns of the loss that may await the violation of this injunction. An appeal to the Commissioners, Executive Officers of the Religious and Charitable Endowment Department, the Dharmakarthas of temples and the Madathipathis not to call for tenders and entrust this sacred work in the hands of all kinds of people, but to patronise the Sthapathis

and Silpis who are the traditional custodians of this noble art and science, will be relavent here. It is also in the interest of the Sthapathis who for want of proper encouragement and support, seek other avocations of life.

The Silpi sits in meditation and concentrates his attention on the elusive idea of the divine and in a moment of intuition catches a glimpse of the transcendental ideal of all our human struggles. He broods and muses over it day and night, paints it with his brush and fashions it with the dexterity of his skilful hands and preserves it for the benefit of the devotees. Should this art and science decay and disappear for want of encouragement and support? The temple on the hill with its tall tower and Kalasas at the top, like a mighty monarch with his tower on the anointed head still demands the tribute of our veneration. The thirtha and vigraha still wash away our dirt and sin and show us the way and guide us with its divine light to the goal of life. Should this art and science decay and disappear for want of encouragement and support?

The Modi Records of the Marathas and their Historical Importance

J. R. Jayachandran

The Origin of the Modi script

The Yadhavas of Devagiri who claimed descent from the epic hero Krishna are also called Sevunas because they ruled over the Sevuna or Senua country, the region from Nasik to Devagiri. Bhillama (1187-1191) who had been a feudatory of Someswara IV, took advantage of the decline of the Chalukyas of Kalyani seized the territory as far as the Krishna, founded Devagiri and made it his capital in 1187.

Ramachandra or Ramadeva, son of Krishna and nephew of Mahadeva ruled the Yadhava kingdom from 1271 to 1309. Hemadri or Hemad Pant was the prime minister of Ramachandra. Hemadri was also the prime minister of his predecessor Mahadeva.

Hemadri was a versatile scholar. **Chatur Vargachintamani** of Hemadri is a voluminous work, in parts dealing with **Vrata** or religious fasting, **dhana** or gift, **tirtha** or pilgrimage, and **moksha** or solvation. A supplement to it gives an account of the deities, **Sradhas,** auspicious moments for performing religious ceremonies and expiatory rites. Hemadri also wrote commentaries on a medical work and an exposition of a Vaishanava doctrine. He devised a style of temple and domestic architecture named after him. **He also devised a way of writing the Nagari Script called MODI.**

There is also a mythological story about the introduction of the Modi script. Once a demon, a subject of Ravana passed through the Yadhava Kingdom. The demon wanted to take rest. So he took off his turban, placed it on the ground and went to sleep. Hemadri saw that gigantic turban and thinking it to be a couch, flung himself upon it and was soon asleep. On waking, the demon took his turban and put it on his head and went to Ceylon. When Hemadri awoke, he saw the change and tightened his grip on the turban. When the demon took off his turban again, he saw Hemadri and asked him how he came there. Hemadri prayed for mercy and the demon granted it. The demon also gave him some seeds of Indian jowari or Indian corn. The Modi script came from one of the seeds. From this story, we can guess that from Hemadri's time, the Modi began to be used in correspondence in Marathi.

The use of Modi script by the Marathas

The Modi script from the 13th century was used mainly for **account keeping and correspondence by the Marathas.** It was the medium used both in Maharashtra and in Tamil Nadu. The Modi script was also in use in all the places where the Marathas lived.

There are about 800 bundles of Modi manuscripts in the Saraswathi Mahal Library, Thanjavur. Out of which 600 bundles are yet to be deciphered. 150 to 200 bundles have been translated into Tamil and Marathi. They reveal the details of the culture of the Tamils and South Indian which prevailed during the Maratha rule.

The language was in use until the death of the last ruler, Shivaji (1855). Even afterwards the

British followed the same system for two decades (1870). It is said that the old revenue records of Thanjavur and some other districts are in the Modi script. Afterwards the British switched on to the local script and languages. The existing records cover the history of Thanjavur over a period of two centuries. Some of the bundles found in Saraswathi Mahal Library dates back to the days of Shaji, father of the great Shivaji. He was the Subhedar of the South.

Classification

The manuscripts can approximately be classified into **judicial, military, civil** and **financial, administrative** systems and other miscellaneous subjects like **festival, marriage, death** celebration in the **Royal Household** and so on. The records also contain information about salaries paid to various scholars, musicians, Vaidya, Hakims and European doctors (medical men). The Modi records have information regarding the expenditure of the Rajas covering a period of more than two centuries.

Judiciary

Accounts of judicial administration are found in the Modi records. The proceedings of the Nyaya Sabhas have been noted. Mudritha Sabha, Dharma Sabha and Nyayadeesha Sabha dealt with civil and criminal cases.

Military Administration

There are references to the military administration of the Marathas. The cadres of military officers right from the commander-in-chief to the ordinary sepoy have been mentioned in the Modi records. Marathi and Sanskrit words were used for military drills etc.

Pundits or Scholars

The names of many pundits or scholars have been mentioned in the Modi records. They also contain the information about emoluments and presents given to eminent men of letters.

Civil Administration

In this field we have reference to Bara Mahals and Uttara Karkanas.

Medicines

We come across even valuable medicines prepared with their recipes. The name of one such valuable medicine is **Maharaja Miruhankam.** Many valuable and efficacious medicines were prepared. There are references about the quality and quantity of the medicines. The medicines were prepared with very great care and attention. Medicines were prepared not only for the human beings, but also for animals like cattle, elephants, and so on.

Manuscripts and Books

We also find references about the purchase of thousands of manuscripts by Raja Serfoji and his works on subjects like literature, music, dance and so on.

The value of each and every book has been mentioned. Books and manuscripts were purchased from all parts of the country. There are references to the fact from where these works were purchased. There are accurate reports about the books imported from England. Those books were purchased from Rajah Serfoji's European friends. Books on gynaecology,surgical methods & allopathic medicines were also purchased. Several journals were purchased from Europe. Books on gymnastics and wrestling were also purchased.

The Modi records note that several perfumes were brought from other countries. Horses were imported from Arabia.

Education and Art

The Maratha kings built several choultries for providing food and shelter for the poor and the pilgrims. There are references about the expenditure on schools, salaries of teachers and stipends issued to the students. Vedic schools were attached to the temples. Non-Brahmins also were studying the Vedas in those schools. Food, shelter and clothing and even oil bath twice a week were provided to the students.

Several records reveal the expenses for giving salaries to dance masters (Nattuvanars) and stipends to pupils who learnt dancing. There are also references about musicians and persons who played on musical instruments. There was also the Rajah's personal orchestra.

Temples

The modi records speak of the endowments to temples given by the Maratha Rajahs. Some new temples were built. Many temples were renovated. Special grants were also given for the conduct of festivals in several temples. The Modi records also given a picture of the details of worship by the Rajas, their consorts and queens. Agraharams were endowed. A Mahamandapam was built as the extension of Sri Sankara Madam at Kumbakonam.

Social Life

Many details are found about the practices of the people and the Rajahs. References about the social functions and ceremonies are found in the records. Details about marriage celebrations, nuptials, naming the child, wearing the sacred thread and such other celebrations are found in the Modi Records. It also gives an information about the fasts and feasts of the Royal family and the common people. Expenses connected with those functions are given in detail. They had faith in Astrology. Even Chandrashtamam was seen. The Rajah gave Godhanam (gift of the cow) in the mornings. It is stated that Rajah Serfoji used to read with devotion (Parayanam) Saint Tirumoolar's **Tirumanthiram.** Once when he went out on tour to some place, he did not take the book with him. When he came to know that the sacred book was not with him, he sent a special messenger to the palace and got it for reading.

Printing Press

Mention has been made about the printing press. There was also a foundary to produce the types. The Names of books printed in the press are also found in the records.

Games and Sports

The Modi records reveal about the sporting activities of the Royal family. Tiger hunt and Cheeta hunt were very popular. **'Yuja Nama'** contains information about training the Cheeta. It also says about the medicines for ailments. The Marathas also trained the Falcons for hunting. The training methods of Falcons are found in the work **'Baaj Nama'**

Ship Building under the Maratha rule

There are many references to ship building in the Modi records, in a place called **SALUVANAYAKKANPATTINAM.** That place was also called as **SARABENDRA RAJAPURAM.** Timber was purchased from several places for ship-building. There was a port with light-house. There was a naval school in Saluvanayakkan Pattinam. There were serangs and sailors. There was a foundary which produced anchors, chains, nails etc. for the ship. There was also a library with books on Navigation and Ship-building. Ships were with four

masts and three masts. The ships were given names like Rajalakshmi and Jayalakshmi. The ships touched the ports of Ceylon, Singapore and Malaya. Coastal trade flourished. Timber, spices etc. were exported. Silk, glass materials, Chandaliers etc. were imported.

Conclusion

The Modi records contain several such information which will be of immense value for reconstructing the history of the Marathas in general and particularly the history of the Maratha rule in Thanjavur. They also throw light on various aspects of the social, political and economic life of the people of South India with a special reference to Thanjavur region. Even the day to day expenses of the Maratha rulers of Thanjavur are noted in the Modi records.

Notes and Comments

Beliefs based on Sound Similarity?

S. Suseendirarajah

Hundreds of beliefs, most of them appearing to be superstitious, based on different criteria and classifiable into several categories prevail and exercise a great deal of influence on the day to day life of the people in the modern society of Jaffna in Sri Lanka which is said to be highly literate. These beliefs are so deep rooted in the life of these people that it is difficult even for the most educated to brush them aside as meaningless, particularly those beliefs that have some link with religion and traditions. They have thus almost become an integral part of their age old culture. Some of these beliefs for instance the ones based on house lizard and its chirp appear so meaningful to almost everyone at least in certain situations that any proof to the contrary will be not at all convincing to them. Some of these beliefs have been in practice in the Tamil society for centuries and are attested in the earliest available literature.[1]

It may be rather difficult to explain how these beliefs originated. Generally a lot of imagination plays when people ordinarily attempt to explain them for any purpose. However among these beliefs there are a few that appear to have originated on the basis of what I would prefer to call 'sound similarity' between two or more words, things, aspects or events involved in the belief.[2] As such an attempt is made herein to present sound similarity as a possible explanation for the origin of a selected number of beliefs currently prevailing in the Jaffna society. I do not wish to raise the question as to whether the sound similarity (in expressing the belief) or the belief itself were to originate first for it will be as intriguing and confusing as the question of chicken, or the egg were to appear first.

Now let me present a few selected beliefs and explain them on the basis of sound similarity.

1. There is a bird small in size commonly known in Jaffna Tamil as kalavaay-k-kuruvi. If this bird chirps frequently in the court yard of a residence or while flying over a house the inmates of that house generally believe and fear that they may pick up or face a quarrel with some one on that day or in the near future. On hearing the chirp of this bird people usually the olderfolk in the villages spit three times believing that spitting simultaneously with the chirp would lessen or ward off the evil effect in store for them.

The Tamil word kalakam means **quarrel, incitement against one, revolt** and **fight.** There is sound similarity between kalakam and the first component in kalavaay-k-kuruvi. In Tamil kuruvi means **bird** and kalavaay modifies it. It is possible that the modifier kalavaay is a changed form, its earlier form being kalaka vaay **mouth (indicating or signalling) quarrel.** Herein kalaka is the adjectival form of kalakam. One is tempted to connect the sound similarity of the words involved in explaining the origin of this belief.

2. Another belief is based on a bird known in spoken Tamil as cempakam or cempukam a species gradually becoming extinct. Villagers believe that if this bird by chance enters into a house (normally it does not) its entry

is an indication of forthcoming wealth to that family. So people naturally welcome its entry!

In literary Tamil this bird is known as cempoottu. It is likely that earlier at a particular period the word cempoottu was in use in some varieties of spoken Tamil too. The words campattu, cottu pattu mean **wealth** in Tamil. The sound similarity between these words perhaps gave room for this belief during some period.

3. People generally believe that a newly married girl will soon be pregment and bring forth a child if wasps known in Tamil as kuḷavi make mud shells (like nests) in the house where she resides.

In literary Tamil kuLavi means **infant, child.** This word does not occur in current spoken Tamil. Long ago ḷ and L had fallen together in pronunciation though in writing they are kept distinct to this day. It is likely that this belief originated as a result of associating kuḷavi and kuLavi at a particular period very early in the Jaffna society.

4. People generally fear that the fall of a toad known in Tamil as teerai on children will hamper their growth. Ladies take utmost care to see that a toad does not jump or fall on their abdomen during pregnancy for they fear that it affects the growth of the baby in the womb.

In Tamil the verb that denotes 'waning' or 'growing thin' is teey. The words teerai and teey are somewhat similar in sounds. Hence it is likely that this belief arose.

5. One commonly believes that the black hair on his head can turn grey due to bee-honey. So in villages people take care to see that their head does not come into contact with even a drop of honey.

In early Tamil the word naRai denoted honey. The verb that gives the sense of 'become grey' in Tamil is narai. R and r are pronounced alike in many of the Tamil dialects. Hence it is possible to explain this belief too on the basis of sound similarity between the two words naRai and narai.

6. People in villages often say that kaḷḷa viyaaLan kaLuttaRukkum **roguish Thursday will sever the head** and usually they don't do anything important on Thursdays. One will not even visit his friends on Thursdays for any important matter.[3] The sound similarity between words involved in expressing this belief may be noted.

7. People never begin to do anything important on the eighth or ninth day after the full or new moon for it is said that aTTami navamiyil toTTatu naacam; ***anything begun on the eighth or ninth day after the full or new moon will be ruinous.*** aTTami is the eighth day after the full or new moon and toTTatu literally **that which was touched** is a verbal noun from the verb toTu **touch.** Navami is the ninth day after the full or new moon and naacam is **ruin.** Here no one can overlook the sound similarity that might have had a role in shaping this belief.

8. It is generally believed that fractures caused by falling from a tree called murunkai in Tamil are not easily curable. The Tamil word for fracture is muRivu. Note the sound similarity that might have urged people to think so.

9. It is said that a family will become poverty stricken if someone in the family were to break anything made of glass on a Friday. In Tamil Friday is veḷḷi. veḷḷi also means silver and hence wealth too. There was a time when coins were made of silver. Association of forms similar in sound perhaps led to this belief.[4]

10. The sick usually prefer to commence the native medical treatment on a Sunday for it is believed that ñaayiRu nooyaRu; **beginning treatment on Sunday is the end of disease.** In Tamil Sunday is ñaayiRu.

11. In Tamil Tuesday is cevvaay. Nothing important is done on a Tuesday for it is believed that it will not be successful. In avoiding Tuesday for doing any important matter people often say that cevvaay veRu vaay literally **Tuesday is empty mouth.**

12. Almost every Hindu in the Jaffna society pays atention to the chirp of house lizard when important matters are thought of silently or said aloud. Its chirp is interpreted as good or bad depending the directions in which the lizard as seated. To be sure of the interpretation one may refer to an almanae called pañcaaṅkam prepared and published in Jaffna by eminent Hindu astrologers annually. But it is believed that one need not have any apprehension if the lizard was seated just above the person whose thought or utterance was responded by the chirp for it is often said and believed that ucci pallikku accam illai **no fear by the (chirp of) lizard seated above.** ucci means **above, top** or **summit** and accam means **fear.**

Whether these beliefs are peculiar to Jaffna society alone or common to different Tamil societies in the world needs investigation. Being cut away from other Tamil societies, Jaffna Tamil society has many peculiarities some of which are archaic but lost elsewhere and others are independent developments due to its new environment and fresh contacts. It is possible to collect many more such beliefs in the Jaffna society. It will be interesting to investigate similar beliefs explainable partly or fully on the basis of sound similarity in different cultures of the world. A comparative study of them will help better understanding of some unity in human perception, thinking and expression in different cultural backgrounds.

NOTES

1. For instance see literary works like Cilappatikaaram 5:239, KuRuntokai 210:6, NaRRinai 333: 10-12 and PuRanaanuuRu 123: 1-2.

2. A rural woman in the Tamil Nadu, India would never mention the personal name of her husband. In addition she would avoid mentioning the names of things that have sounds similar to her husband's name. She would generally refer to such things by some other coined names. For instance a woman would not even say muruṅkai-k-kaay, name of a vegetable if her husband's name happens to be Murugiah. Instead she would refer to it as kompu-k-kaay. For more examples see M.Varadarajan, MoLi varalaaRu, p.46, Madras.

3. Mondays and Wednesdays are generally considered auspicious days. Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays are either auspicious or inauspicious depending on the nature of one's intended actions. For most actions Tuesdays and Thursdays are generally considered inauspicious.

4. Usually certain other activities are also not done on Fridays. For instance one does not generally give away large amount of money to someone on Fridays. On Fridays one does not leave his house on a long journey for it is considered bad for the remaining immates of the house. In recent times a lady refused to marry her daughter to someone on a Friday for she felt that kannikaa taanam **the ceremony of giving away the bride to the groom by parents** should not be done on a Friday. She feared that if this was done some evil will fall either on the married couple or the parents of the bride sometime in the future.

A Note on Giant Voids in the Universe

S. Ramadurai

The structure and evolution of the universe has occupied human imagination from the very ancient times. Mostly these remained as philosophical speculations, untested by any experimental observations. However these speculations have served two purposes. First and foremost was the impetus which it gave the human beings to seareh for the unknown. Secondly, though these remained speculations, they were constrained by the logical systematics. Thus many of the present ideas of physics are contained in the Greek philosophy and whenever modern discoveries are made in the West, even in experimental sciences, quite often the Greek speculations on the subject, are recalled. For example, whenever atomic hypothesis is discussed, the role of Democritus is almost universally acknowledged. However for lack of information, the role played by the Tamil philosophers have not received their due share of this recognition. For example, the cosmogonical ideas of Saiva Siddhantha are almost unknown to the outside world. In this article, two important modern discoveries-one about 50 years old and the other current-are presented with the relevant references in Tamil Literature. A detailed discussion of the individual aspects will be presented in a later communication.

The idea that the universe has hierarchical structures like planets, stars, star clusters, galaxies, clusters of galaxies, surperclusters of galaxies, has been developing over the last several centuries. The evolution of these structures, especially the galaxies and their origin form the subject matter of Cosmology. Einstein's equations of General Relativity, applied to the universe, yielded interesting solutions. One of them, discovered by Friedmann in 1920s, is an expanding universe solution (Misner et al, 1973). The Friedmann solution became an observationally tested hypothesis with the discovery by Hubble that all galaxies **recede** from each other. The recession of galaxies from each other leads to the overall expansion of the universe as a function of time (Narliker, 1977).

The idea of an expanding universe is mentioned in Tiruvachagam in the tiruaṇṭapakuti திருஅண்டப்பகுதி

aṇṭap pakutyin uṇṭaip pirakkam
அண்டப் பகுதியின் உண்டைப் பிறக்கம்

aḷappaṛun tanmai
அளப்பருந் தன்மை in the opening lines.

One may take the above lines as a prelude to the thought process of Manikkavachagar. But it should be mentioned that though this particular sentence saying the expansion (பிறக்கம்) of the part of the universe அண்டப்பகுதி, occurs here, no quantitative description or any mathematical analysis of these problems is given by the author. Neither was this speculation followed up by the later day analysts. Even in Saiva Siddhanta System, going into the many detail, about the origin of the universe, the same drawbacks remain. One wonders whether the thought, given in a nutshell by the poet, is just a chance uttering.

With the advent of powerful telescopes, astronomers have been able to expand their horizon enormously. Recently they have-stumbled on a surprise when they were tying to arrive at the three dimensional distribution

of galaxies in the universe. It was found that the galaxies are concentrated almost like a string of pearls (IAU Symposium on the Early Universe, Crete, 1982). Outside these strings, there is practically no luminous matter and just plain voids seem to exist. The dimensions of these viods are such that they constitute almost 90% of the total volume of the universe (Zeldovich et al, 1982). These discoveries, which are the most active subjects of discussion in the current literature, are probably alluded to in the following Tamil Stanza. These form the penultimate stanza of tirvoaymoḷi திருவாய்மொழி by

nammoalvaar நம்மாழ்வார்

cuulntakanraaintuyarnta
சூழ்ந்தகன்றாழ்ந்துயர்ந்த

mutivil perumpaaleeyoo culntatanil
முடிவில் பெரும்பாழேயோ சூழ்ந்ததனில்

peria paranan malare cootiyoo!
பெரிய பரநன்மலர்ச் சோதியோ!

It is really surprising that the qualitative description is almost identical to the astronomical discovery of 1982. Again it is a pity that nobody has paid any serious attention to the scientific gems contained in the philosophical thoughts.

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Comments on the Place of Grammatical Relations in Language Description

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Linguistics, unlike the 'hard' sciences, allows a multiplicity of theories to coexist. The theories differ even in some fundamental respects such as the unit of grammatical description. The standard theory of the Transformational Generative Grammar takes the grammatical categories such as the noun, verb etc. as the basic units and its offshoot Relational Grammar takes the grammatical relations such as subject, object etc, as the starting point. The choice between alternative theories or variants of a theory should be made on the basis of empirical and metatheoretical considerations. The empirical considerations are coverage of data of a language and all languages and the metatheoretical considerations are simplicity of description and generalization of grammatical phenomena.

Professor Rangan explained in his inaugural address how the Relational Grammar (RG) meets these considerations by a discussion of selected Tamil data. But the RG is not without problems and Rangan has not chosen to discuss them. First is the problem of universal definition of grammatical relations. There is no unified definition, for example, for subject in all languages and there is only a set of defining features which have differing values. The combination of these features define a subject in different degrees. Thus subject is a gradient notion and not a categorical one.

The hierarchy of grammatical relations, which is crucial to RG, has also met with problem. The higher and distinct status given to subject, object and indirect object is perhaps justified but has not been established. The literature shows that the use of relational hierarchy for stating the accessibility of grammatical relations for derivational rules runs into empirical problems when diverse language data are considered.

Let me show some of these problems from the data discussed by Rangan. A generalization made, on the basis of Tamil and Indonesian data, is that Chomeur is not accessible to the rule of relativization. RG would score a point if this is a universal condition on rules. To be an universal, it would be more insightful if the rule in generalized as a movement rule or any such rule instead of particularizing it to the rule of relativization. I doubt whether this condition is valid in such a generalized form. Even when restricted to relativization, this condition does not work in the case of English where the instrumental of the passive sentence can be relativized. Thus this condition is rule specific and language specific and therefore not a condition on the grammar of the human language.

It is claimed that the antecedent or controller must be higher on the relational hierarchy than the reflexivized pronoun. This is too strong and too weak. At the same time, in Tamil, the subject of the embeded sentence can be a reflexive pronoun and this has equal status in the hierarchy with the antecedent. And only the subject can trigger reflexive prono-

minalization, (as Rangan himself has pointed out) and not any relatively higher relation. One could only talk in implicational terms that if a relation lower in the hierarchy triggers reflexive pronominalization all relations higher than that will necessarily trigger it.

It is argued that RG helps to characterize passivization universally using grammatical relations since the syntactic changes of passive across languages do not have any thing in com mon. Though this is true, RG has also problems. In languages where passive is formed by changing the verbal inflexion with no change in the syntax or morphology of the nouns, one does not have any formal criterion to talk about change of relation. In Tamil, passive is formed without affecting the object. In the following sentence in Tamil the noun with parri 'about' is not a grammatical object. kūṭṭattil kāntiyaippaṟṟi pēcinārkaḷ meeting-in Gandhi - about spoke (They) Spoke about Gandhi in the meeting. kūṭṭattil kāntiyaippaṟṟi pēcappaṭṭatu meeting-in Gandhi - about speak-was Gandhi was spoken about in the meeting.

It is not correct to say that passive in languages like Tamil, where the case marking is changed, is not a syntactic rule, since, not only movement, but feature changing is also a syntactic rule.

There are, however, sentences with passive meaning, which are not a product of any syntactic rule. The traditional Tamil grammarians discuss sentences like tiṇṇai meḻukṟṟiu 'the patio smeared' which means 'the patio was smeared' and say that the passive sense is expressed through an active sentence. This is a question of semantic interpretation. Perhaps, passive could be defined universally in terms of the relation of the participants of the speech even to the speech event, as the traditional grammars defining voice have done. The problem is of syntactic derivation. It can be said that the passive could be formed either with or without syntactic derivation. This takes the universal statements about meaning relations outside the arena of syntax.

Reply to the Comments of Dr. E. Annamalai

Dr. K. Rangan
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I agree with Professor Annamalai when he says that linguistics allows a multiplicity of theories to co–exist. The sciences which are classified as 'natural' do not allow such multiplicity of theories to coexist. Scientist, for example physicists, do not differ as linguists differ on defining the very object of investigation. One may describe the present status of linguistics either as a pre-pardigm stage or all social sciences will allow the multiplicity of theories to coexist.

I agree that it would have been better had I discussed some of the problems raised within the theory of Relational Grammar. The arguments raised in Annamalai's comments do not reject the theory totally. Annamalai has raised certain significant issuees within the theory. The first is the problem of defining the notion 'subject'. It appears that the attempt to define the subject as a gradient notion and not as a discrete one is acceptable to him. More data from Tamil and further analysis of Tamil syntax may strengthen either of the positions in future.

I proposed relativization as an internal test for Tamil Syntax to identify the chômeur relation. It seems to be a language specific rule.

Annamalai has pointed out that the subject of the embedded sentence can be a reflexive pronoun and this has equal status in the hierarchy with the antecedent. He suggests that it would be proper to talk in terms of implicational terms i.e., if a relation lower in the hierarchy triggers reflexive pronominalization, then all relations higher in the hierarchy will also trigger it. I do not disagree with this claim. But it does not talk about the relationship between the controller and victim with reference to Relational Hierarchy. It may be possible to restrict the domain of the above constraint within a clause. And moreover the data in which the victim is higher than the controller on the scale of Relational Hierarchy only will pose serious problem to the theory.

Annamalai gives the following examples to show that passive is formed by hanging the verbal inflection with no change in the syntax or morphology of the nouns.

1) kūṭṭattil kāntiyaippaṟṟi pēcinarkaḷ
'(They) spoke about Gandhi in the meeting

2) kūṭṭattil kāntiyaippaṟṟi pēcappaṭṭatu
'Gandhi was spoken about in the meeting'

Passive is formed here without affecting the object. It is true that the object is not affected because of the marker **paṟṟi.** But the subject of the underlying sentence has been affected.

3) avarkaḷ kūṭṭattil kāntiyaippaṟṟi pēcinarkaḷ

'They spoke about Gandhi in the meeting'

4) avarkaḷāl kūṭṭattil kāntiyaipaṟṟi pēcappaṭṭatu

'Gandhi was spoken about by them in the meeting'

*5) avarkaḷ kūṭṭattil kāntiyaippaṟṟi pēcappaṭṭatu

The underlying subject, though deleted, has been demoted. It is singnalled by the different case markings in the active and passive senttences. The unacceptability of (5) indicates that the underlying subject has undergone the change in its relation.

In the absence of movement transformation rules, one has the choice of describing the phenomenon of passivization either in terms of lexical rules or relation changing rules. Here I do not attempt to evaluate these two approaches.

It is pointed out by Annamalai that sentences like

(6) tiṇṇai meḷukiṟṟu
?(The patio smeared)
'The patio was smeared'

express passive meaning. It is argued that they are not outputs of any syntactic rule. The question of relating sentences arises when they are related in both form and meaning. Passivization as a grammatical process involves both form and meaning. I am not sure whether one can ignore the aspect of form and talk about the process of passivization only as a representation of meaning. Moreover it is not clear how one could group these sentences under passive without bothering about the formal aspects of sentence structure. This problem has been discussed by Professor Agesthialingom (1969). The passive sentence is

7) tiṇṇai tāyāl meḷukappaṭṭatu
'The patio was smeared by the mother'

which is derived from

8) tāy tiṇṇayai meḷukināḷ
'The mother smeared the patio'

What is the relation between (6) and (7) if both are considered as passive sentences? The speech event falls outside the scope of the theory of the formal grammar. (See my reply to Bhat). The question is whether one is interested in the construction of a theory or in the description of wide range of data.

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COMMENTS ON

The Place of Grammatical Relations in Language Descriptions

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1. The paper is rather disappointing because, Rangan has simply given a summary of the claims and assertions of Relational Grammar, with some Tamil examples thrown in, instead of critically examining those claims in the light of his own Tamil knowledge. Since Tamil is quite different structurally from English or French upon which the theory of Relational Grammar had been originally formulated, it would have been more interesting and worthwhile if Rangan had examined its claims one by one on the basis of Tamil syntax rather than simply summarizing the cases of Japanese, Swahili, Indonesian, Hindi, English, etc., provided by other authors, which are anyway available in the sources referred to.

2. Consider, for example, the case of the chômeur relation summarized by Rangan on pages 79-82. He compares two different Tamil sentences (15,19), in order to illustrate the claim that a term put in chômeur relation cannot be relativized.

1) cīta: toṭṭiyil nīrāi nirappināḷ
Sita tank-in water-acc. filled
'Sita filled water in the tank'.

2) cītā toṭṭiyai nīrāl nirappināḷ
Sita tank-acc. water-with filled
'Sita filled the tank with water'.

Rangan suggests that in (2), the nominal **toṭṭi** has been placed in the Direct Object position (from an earlier Locative position) and as a result, the nominal **nir** which was earlier in the the Direct Object position, had to be shifted to a chômeur position.

Rangan points out further that the nominal **nir** can be relativized only in (1) but not in (2). His explanation for this constraint is that a nominal in a chômeur relation ceases to bear any grammatical relation with other elements in the sentence, and hence it fails to undergo the process of relativization.

I do not know whether he would consider the comparable English sentence, namely (3) and (4), to be illustrative of a similar process of shifting a nominal from the Direct Object position to the chômeur position:

3) Sita filled water in the tank.

4) Sita filled the tank with water.

Because, if he does so, English would provide a counter example to this rule:**water** can be relativized, as far as I know, in both (3) and (4), as shown by the following:

5) The water which Sita filled in the tank

6) The water with which Sita filled the tank.

3. Notice that there is an interesting meaning difference between sentences of the type (3) and (4). The nominal occurring as the Direct Object in such sentences gets a holistic

meaning assigned to it. For example, (3) implies that all the available quantity of water been poured into the tank, whereas (4) implies that the tank has been filled, even though the water used for this purpose might not have been exhausted.

I had examined in detail the syntactic construction involved here in (Bhat 1977) and also in (Bhat 1978) and had suggested the possibility of postulating "multiple case roles" for the deep structure as the basis of these and other similar meaning distinctions. My study was mainly based upon Kannada material.

Consider, for example, the following two sentences:

7) pustagaḷannu ṭrakkinalli tumbisida
books-acc truck-in filled
'He filled the books in the truck'

8) pustakagaḷinda ṭrakkannu tumbisida
books-with truck-acc. filled
'He filled the truck with books'.

7) implies that all the books have been placed in the truck (but they might have taken only very little space in it) whereas (8) implies that the truck has been completely filled by books and there might be some more books still to be loaded.

The Relational Grammar would apparently claim that **pustakagaḷu** 'books' is in chômeur relation in (8) as the nominal **ṭrakku** 'truck' has been placed in its position of Direct Object in that sentence. However, the nominal **pustakagaḷu** 'books' can be relativized in both these sentences;

9) ṭrakkinalli tumbisida pustakagaḷu
truck-in filled books
'the books which have been filled in the truck'

10) ṭrakkannu tumbisida pustakagaḷu
truck-acc. filled books
'the books with which the truck has been filled'

Notice that the meaning difference occurring between (7) and (8) has been maintained by the pair (9) and (10) as well: the phrase (10) implies that the books have entirely filled the truck, whereas the phrase (9) does not have any such implication.

In view of this meaning difference available in Kannada, which is very closely related to Tamil, it would be worth while to reexamine the claim made by Rangan, namely that the relativization given under (23) in his paper is ungrammatical. That is, can't we have a corresponding pair of phrases in Tamil as well, as shown by (11) and (12)?

11) toṭṭiyil nirappiya nīr
'the water which was filled in the tank'

12) ? toṭṭiyai nirappiya nīr
'the water with which the tank was filled'

4. It appears to me that the Relational Annihilation law of the Relational Grammar, namely that a noun phrase whose grammatical relation has been taken over by another noun phrase ceases to bear any grammatical relation to the verb, is rather unsatisfactory as far as the above cases are concerned. That is, it appears to be intuitively incorrect to claim that **pustakagaḷu** 'books' in (8) is "unrelated" with the verb or with the remaining noun phrases of that sentence. The possibility of relativizing it and also engaging it in other grammatical processes supports this intuition.

If this point is well taken, the Reranking law, namely that a rule that alters the status of an NP with respect to termhood must increase the

rank of that NP (Johnson 1977:156) must also be considered as erroneous. Because, the noun phrase **pustakagaḷu** 'books' would have had its rank **reduced** in (8).

There are also instances in Kannada in which a nominal is simply shifted to a lower rank; do we consider these also as cases of shifting to a chômeur relation? This would be rather difficult because, no other nominal would have taken its earlier position.

Consider, for example, the following two sentences:

13) nānu hogōbēku
'I must go'.

14) nanage hōgbēku
me-to go-must
'I must go'

The sentence (13) with nanu 'I' in the subject position implies that the decision to go is under the control of the speaker, whereas (14) with **nānu** 'I' in the Dative (indirect object?) position implies that circumstances are forcing the speaker to go. I do not see any reason to postulate a chômeur relation in either of these two sentences, except for providing an exceptionless Ranking Law for the Relational Grammar. The meaning distinction is retained as a case of ambiguity in relativizing such sentences.

5. Rangan has suggested on page 91 that the so-called Agreement Law "predicts" that only terms can trigger verbal agreement. He considers this to be an empirical and falsifiable claim. It appears to me, however, that this "Law" has resulted from the **difinition** of the term "agreement". Because, it is quite possible to show a correlation between a non-term and the verb, but such a correlation would be precluded, by definition, from being considered as a case of agreement.

For example, it can be shown that the tense suffixes occurring in the verb correlate with the temporal adverbials to a certain extent. In Kannada, for example, the adverbial **ninne** 'Yesterday' would correlate with a past verb, and the adverbial **na:ḷe** 'tomorrow' with a non-past verb.

6. I agree with the contention that models like the Relational Grammar might offer new insights into the working of human language. But there is always the danger that the generalizations that appear to be interesting initially might, on closer examination, turn out to be spurious. This is especially true of models which appear quickly and disappear even more quickly as their exponents themselves lose faith in them. We have to be extremely cautious in conceding their claims and assertions.

Universal Grammar (UG) as Chomsky using that term, is quite different from 'Grammatical Universals' of the 'essential proporties of human language'. For him it represents the innate or genetically endowed grammar - a set of properties with which every child begins his language acquisition programme. Depending upon the nature of the language to which the child is exposed, some of these properties would be supppressed, and some altered. Hence it is not necessary for any of its properties to be found in all adult languages (or in any adult language for that matter).

Further, the claim that all language acquiring children would be endowed with one and the same set of such grammatical properties is an idealization. It is more probable, in the actuality, that there does exist differences between individuals, as is the case with these genetically endowed properties.

In view of this point, the explanation that Chomsky provides for the similarity between natural languages is in no way different from

the one provided by structural linguistics. Because both depend upon the so-called 'genetic factors' The only difference is that the structuralists had been more cautious in their genetic hypothesis, relating only those languages that the data allowed them to relate whereas Chomsky has been very bold in putting together all human languages into a single language family. Perhaps he has been assisted in this endeavour by the recent break-through in genetic theory.

Regarding the sentence pair **nānu hōgbēke** and **nanage hōgbēku**, it may be claimed that we have a set of complex sentences here, and the pronoun **nānu** is unreleated with the matrix verb **bēku;** Hence the question of postulating the Chômeur relation does not arise.

But this could be there if the so-called passive sentences of Tamil as well. We can claim that in **āciriyarāl koṭukkappaṭṭatu** the NP is related with the verb **koṭu** and not with the verb **poṭu** and hence the question of Chômeur relationship is irrelevant.

It is evident that this concept of chômeur relationship is based upon a grouping together of a number of sentence pairs which are distinguishable from one another on the basis of different syntactic and semantic characteristics. We will have to ignore these differences if we are to maintain the concept of chômeur. Hence the question to be considered here is this: is it worthwhile to ignore those difference?

Certain postpositions can be retained and the head noun relativized, in Kannada.

1) me:le pustaka viruva me:ju
'the table upon which there is a book!

2) me:le pustakavirisiruva me:ju
'the table upon which (someone) has placed a book!

3) me:le me:stru pustakavirisiruva me:ju
'the table upon which the teacher has placed a book!

The relativization in (1) and (2) is correct but in (3) it looks rather odd. How is it that the subject needs to be dropped in a transitive sentence but not in an intransitive sentence? What aspect of **relation** can be used for explaining this constraint?

It appears to me, that the constraint is due to a semantic factor: The characterization of the table does not apparently involve the transitive subject. This contradicts the relational grammarian's claim that semantic features are in relevant in describing a syntax.

There is actually a circularity in this claim. When we produce a grammar with the help of a small set of syntactic feature we set aside several other features as part of our effort to "idealize" (or simplify) our data; even though grammar is affected by geographical, social, historical, semantic, stylistic and many other factor, we set them aside, by considering them, **by definition,** as non-grammatical. It is therefore circular to claim that these factors are irrelevant because a grammar has been constructed without making use of them.

There is a contradiction between (24-27) on the one hand, and (42-43) on the other in Rangan's papers. In the former, passive has been derived from its active by demoting the subject whereas in the latter the active has been derived from its passive by advancing a chômeur (called 'Object')

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Reply to the Comments of Dr. D. N. S. Bhat

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There is no single definition regarding the nature of language acceptable to the entire community of linguists. The disagreement on the very nature of language leads the linguists to differ on the selection of data, method of investigation and standard solution to the problems. A theory in this context may be evaluated on the basis of the goal it sets to itself and the range of data it covers and the explanation it offers to them.

It seems that Professor Bhat rejects the theory of Relational Grammar in total. The comments presented by Bhat may be classified into two kinds. One kind of arguments criticises the theory in general and raises certain problems to the theory. The second one brings evidences to disprove certain hypotheses. First I take the theoretical issues and secondly the issues concerned with certain claims of RG.

The intention I had when I wrote the paper was to present a comprehensive picture of the Relational Grammar so that my fellow linguists especially the Tamil linguists may apply the theory to study the syntax of Tamil language. I purposely postponed the exercise of evaluation because it is too early to reject the theory in the absence of its application to Tamil data and with a handful of counter evidences.

Bhat says that the explanation that Chomsky provides for the similarity between languages is in no way different from the one provided by structural linguistics. With the exception of Hockett (around 1940) other structural linguists took the antirealist position. As Chomsky (1978) points out that linguists like Twaddell, Martin Joos and Zelling Harris held that the procedures were devices for bringing some kind of organization to chaotic material, and that there is no claimed truth, certainly no claimed explanation, no claim to correctness of representing some mental reality. I am not in a position to understand how Chomsky who takes the realist position and the structural linguists who take the antirealist position could offer the same explanation for the similarities found among the natural languages of the world!

The view that each language has its own structure and languages differ in indefinite number of ways is closely linked with the idea that language is a product of society and not a product of the human mind. For Chomsky language is a product of the human mind. Therefore it is difficult to get the same explanation from both of these views.

Another theoretical issue that Bhat raises is the question of 'idealization' and the circularity of the claim linked with this. 'Idealization, is a part of any theory construction. It involves the specification of the range and nature of data the theory is supposed to cover and explain. The concern for the depth of explanation makes one to eliminate certain data from the scope of the study. An alternative way would be to cover wide range of data and phenomena to describe. The real issue is whether one is concerned with the description or explanation of data. The desire to deal with highly idealized systems in order to obtain depth of explanation eliminates much of data of various kinds from the study of investigation (Chomsky 1978). One may observe an extre-

mely opposite stand from the remarks of Lakoff (1974). The claim is not circular. The issue is whether one is interested in the activity of theory construction or in the description of wide range of data and phenomena.

Bhat, in his comments, has given examples from English and shown that the NP put in chômeur position can be relativized. I attempted to propose the process of relativization as an internal test to identify the NP of chômeur relation in Tamil. At present, I consider this as a language specific rule and not a condition on the grammar of the human lunguage. Of course, the stand taken here may weaken the position of the theory itself.

Bhat notes the meaning difference in the sentences given blow:

(1) Sita filled water in the tank,

(2) Sita filled the tank with water.

The issue is what aspects of meaning differences are to be included and what aspects of meaning differences to be ignored in the representation of underlying structure. The attempt to relate these two sentences ignores the distinction in meaning. In spite of the differences in meaning between active and passive sentences linguists relate these sentences conceiving a common underlying structure. It depends on the stand one takes.

Two sentences are given to show that the nominal which is put in chômeur relation can be relativized in Kannada.

(3) Pustakaḷinda ṭrakkannu tumbisida
'He filled the truck with books'

(4) ṭrakkannu tumbisida pustakagaḷu
'the books with which the truck has been filled'

According to Bhat, this is a counter evidence to the claim that the nominal put in chômeur relation can not be relativized. Corresponding Tamil sentences would be

(5) pustakaṅkaḷinal lāriyai nirappinān

(6) lāriyai nirappiya pustakaṅkaḷ

The relative clause (6) is related to

(7) pustakaṅkaḷ lāriyai nirappina

If (7) is accepted as the underlying sentence of the relative clause, then **pustakaṅkaḷ** is in the subject relation that has been relativized. The sentence given below is not acceptable to me.

*(8) paiyan lāriyai nirappiya pustakaṅkaḷ

The rest of the problems connected with this issue are solved automatically once the above derivation is accepted.

Bhat gives the following examples from Kannada and raises two problems.

(9) nānu hōgbēku
'I must go'

(10) nanage hōgbēku
'I must go'

He argues that these two sentences are different in meaning and there is no reason to postulate a chômeur relation in either of these two sentences. Without going into the details of the analysis, I wish to point out that there is a possibility of proposing a rule which changes the subject into an indirect object. In order to relate these sentences, there is no necessity of postulating a chômeur relation. Thus, the question of chômeur relation doesn't arise at all. In another place Bhat says that **nānu hōgbēku** and **nanage hōgbēku** are complex sentences and the pronoun **nānu** is unrelated with the matrix verb **bēku** The question of chômeur relation doen't arise whether these

sentences are treated as simple sentences or complex sentences within the framework of Relational Grammar.

The problem of verbal agreement has been mentioned by Bhat in his comments. I want to clarify two points here. First by verbal agreement we refer to the marker that is found with the verb indicating the syntactic/ semantic features of the subject/object. What Bhat gives as counter evidences to the agreement law is an instance to show the compatibility between adverb and tense suffix. Second is the nature of the statement that is expressed within the framework of a theory. The agreement between the subject/object and the verb may be given as a descriptive statement. A theory makes a stronger claim when it states that only terms can trigger verbal agreement. A descriptive statement is difficult to be falsified even if we come across with the data in which the agreement between the locative phrase and verb is found. The degree of falsifiability depends on the strength or weakness of the claim. The second type of claim must be entertained because it has the potentiality of greater degree of falsifiability.

The question of chômeur relation is not relevant in sentences like

(11) ācriyaṟal koṭukkappaṭṭatu
'Something was given by the teacher'

If the analysis which conceives the passive as a complex sentence is justified. Such a possibility is suggested in Rangan (1981:48) but not justified.

It is not true that all scholars working within the framework of RG consider semantic features are not relevant to describe the syntax of a language. The rules which are sensitive to semantic features are language specific (Gray and Keenan-1977).

Finally Bhat points out that there is a contradiction between (24-27) and (42-43) in my paper. It is said that in the latter case active is derived from the passive sentence. The passive sentence is given earlier to show the operation of the advancement rule form 2 to 1. The nominal **mātavi** which is 2 in (43) is advanced to 1 in (42).

Note

1. The issue is really not between structural linguistics and transformational generative grammar. It is between those who take the realist position and those who take the antirealist position regarding the status of the theory. The explanation given for the similarities found in the languages of the world depends on the position (realist or antirealist) one takes. For a detailed discussion regarding the status of theory, refer to Srivastava (1978).

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COMMENTS ON

"The Place of Grammatical Relations in Language Description"

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At the outset I wish to make it clear that I am not committed one way or the other to the linguistic theory that is now commonly known as the Relational Grammar (RG). I admit that my knowledge of it, little though it may be, comes mainly from secondary sources, viz, papers arguing for and against certain aspects of RG. In as much as my esteemed friend Dr. K.Rangan has chosen to be an advocate for it, let me be on the other side of the fence and offer a few comments on, or criticisms of, RG in general. (Later in this note I will touch upon certain points raised in my friend's paper). These comments are offered with a view to suggest that the readers, at least the creduluous ones, need not raise their hopes too high on RG lest their later disillusion be appalling.

(i) RG does not appear to be a single model with clear insights into the nature of human language. Within the short period of its development, it has evolved into at least two clearly discernible models: a Comparative View (the proponents of which include Gary, Keenan and others) and a Generative View (the proponents of which are said to be Perlmutter and Postal-see Gary, 1977; Sinha, 1978). The former is also known as the demotional hypothesis, while the latter, the promotional hypothesis. Sinha (1978) is perhaps a bit too harsh when he says that "the fact that the wagon of Relational Grammar is being pulled in two different directions indicates that the custodians of this not-so-new theory are not as sure of their destination as they want us to believe them to be" but his criticism is still valid. Of course, there is nothing odd in the evolvement of two schools of thought within a single recent theory but the problem is that neither of them has proved its rights to the success it would like to crown itself with.

(ii) RG shares with ST (the Standard Theory) the goal (Rangan, 1983:92) and the metalinguistic apparatus (an underlying structure, transformational rules or their analogues, derivations, various levels or strata, cycle etc.). Chomsky has stressed over and over again that transformational grammar is but a formalization of the insights about language structure of the great traditional grammarians. RG ever further captures the traditional views about grammatical processes. Both ST and RG, like the traditional grammars, hold that syntactic processes are largely independent of semantic ones. Particularly, Postal, Perlmutter, and Johnson avoid dealing with semantics in their ongoing development of the theory of RG (as admitted by a proponent of this theory, see Rhodes, 1977.) Isn't it true then, as Newmeyer (1976) has pointed out, that the stronger the case one can make for RG, the stronger one can make for autonomous syntax? To put it differently, isn't RG simply a notional variant of autonomous syntax?

(iii) Again as Newmeyer (1976) has shown, the principal rules which have been cited to

illustrate the laws of RG are by and large the traditional transformations (such as the passive etc.). When we examine rules like Psych-movement, Conjunct movement etc., which are semantic in nature, they do not obey the laws of RG. For example,

1. That surprised my uncle

derives from

2. My uncle was surprised at that

by the rule of psych-movement. This is inconsitent with both the Relational Annihilation Law (since making **that** the subject should have turned **my uncle** into a chômeur) and with the Reranking Law (Since a subject was demoted to become a direct object) (Newmeyer, 1976 has this and other counter-examples).

(iv) One area where RG is claimed to have attained signal success over its competing theories is formulation of a universal rule for passivization. Johnson (1974) and others have drawn particular attention to the fact that passive rules based on word order differ from language to language even though the rules are functionally identical. Rangan (1983), citing Tamil and Hindi examples, observes that the difference in case marking distinguishes the active and passive sentences. He seems to argue that RG, with its great emphasis on grammatical relations, is better equipped to characterize as a unitary phenomenon the passive which is manifested in a difference in case marking from the active. But it is quite evident that passive cannot be characterized in terms of cases alone because in languages like Basque the case marking of the corresponding nominal in both active and passive sentences is exactly the same (Sinha, 1978 for data). It is also to be noted here that Tam Duy Le (1976) has shown that grammatical relations do not play any appreciable role in the formation of Vietnamese passives.

Secondly, characterization of passive as a demotional process fails to account for data from Achenese (an Austronesian language) which shows that the passive verb agrees not with the derived subject but with the basic subject (Lawler, 1977). And in Kapampangan (a Philippine language of the Austronesian family) a passive verb agrees with both the basic and derived subjects. Making verb agreement a cyclic rule, i.e., making agreement apply both before and after the term changing rules, as done by Gary and Keenan, will vitiate the notion of subject which is defined in RG as the Np which controls verb agreement. (Sinha, 1978)

Thirdly, the impersonal passive construction in languages like Mojava is a counter-example to the RG hypothesis. Hindi too seems to have such passives as in

3. ləṛkiko klas se nikal diya gəya
'The girl was driven out of the class'

(from Sinha, 1978). Note that the Np **ləṛkī** is still marked with **ko** in this construction.

Fourthly, it is not clear to me, perhaps due to my lack of familiarity with all (the underground and above ground) literature on RG, how the interaction of the passive and reflexive rules can be prevented from generating an ungrammatical string like (4) below, once passive is dissociated from movement.

4. * pārvati tannāl virumpappaṭṭāl
Pārvati ref-ins like-inf-experience-pat-PNG

* 'Parvati was liked by herself'

For these and similar reasons, I am rather hesitant to accept the RG model as a panacea for formulation of passivization in other existing models.

(v) Another major achievement claimed for RG is its discovery of a hierarchy among the grammatical relations. This is the relational hierarchy (RH), originally given by Perl mutter and Postal and later on made more elaborate into NP Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) by Keenan and Comrie (Pullum, 1977). It has been claimed that AH can be applied to predict degree of syntactic activeness, accessibility to the operation of various processes, extent of participation in grammatical operations etc. Keenan and Comrie surveyed relative clause formation (RCF) in over forty languages and proposed the hypothesis that "if by means of RCF a language can relativize an NP holding position X on the AH, then it can relativize NPs holding positions higher than X on the AH" (Rangan, 1983:84) But the AH will be vacuous unless it makes allowances for the behaviour of sub-categories of NPs which occupy the same position on the AH. For example, the AH predicts that when an NP holding position LOC or INST is relativizable (as in Tamil), then the NPs holding the TERM relations are also accessible to the process of relativization. But it is not true that all NPs holding a particular term position can be relativized in Tamil. In the sentence

5. nāṉ maṉaivikkuc cēlai vāṅkiṉēṉ
I wife-dat sari buy-pst-PNG
"I bought a sari for the wife'

maṉaivi holds the position of indirect object (IO) but it cannot be relativized as shown by the ungrammaticality of

6. *nāṉ cēlai vāṅkiṉa maṉaivi
I sari buy-pst-AjP wife
'The wife who I bought a sari for'

Likewise, we cannot have

7. * auvaiyār pāṭina kūz
Auvaiyar sing-pat-AjP gruel
'The gruel which Auvaiyar sang for'

from

8. auvaiyār kūzukkup pāṭiṉār
Auvaiyar gruel-dat sing-'pat-PNG
'Auvaiyar sang for gruel'

A similar situation prevails even among the non-terms. While certain NPs holding LOC position are relativizable, certain others are not. Particularly, NPs denoting punctual time are not relativizable.

9. (a) kūṭṭam ēzu maṇikku ārampikkiratu
meeting seven 'o' clock-dat 'begin-pres-PNG
The meeting begins at 7:00'

(b) *kūṭṭam ārampikkira ēzu mani
meeting begin-pres-AjP seven o' clock
?? 'Seven o' clock when the meeting begins'

These facts indicate that rules are sensitive to inherent sementic features of NPs such as definitensss etc. Gary (1977) makes similar observations for Bantu languages, which do not obey Johnsons Target Uniqueness Principle ("No language can have two advancement rules that have the same candidate relation but different target relations") She has found in these languages that there are two types of oblique objects (OO) that cannot advance to Do though they can to Su (subject). She and other writers have noted that there are sub-classes of DOs in English which can not be passivized to Su (e.g.DOs of stative verbs such as resemble) and sub-classes of IOs which can not undergo dative movement (e.g.IOs of verbs such as refer). Lastly, Tamil, like Japanese and Latin, allows subject to object raising but not subject to subject raising. Note that in the derivation of

10. cāmiyār pōlicāral aṭikkappaṭṭavar-ākak
sanyasi police-inst beat-inf-experience-pst-PN-adv
kāṇappaṭukiṟār
see-inf-**experience** pres-PNG

'The sanyasi seems to have been beaten up by the police' passive applies both before and after subject to object raising. But subject raising is not evidenced, as mentioned above.

These facts indicate that the laws of RG are overly simplified and strongly stated and that the AH, in particular, is grossly inadequate to predict the extent of participation by NPs in grammatical operations.

(vi) It has been argued that the hierarchy in grammatical relations can also be observed in the process of reflexivization (see Rangan, 1983 arguing for Tamil) It is not at all clear to me that the pronoun tāṉ in Tamil is reflexive. It seems to me that a better characterization will be that it is a term which is co-referential with a third person subject, like the Japanese **zibun.** Notice that the Tamil 'reflexive pronoun' can occur in contexts where its English counterpart cannot, as in

11. avaḷ taṉ pəraic coṉṉāḷ
she ref name-acc tell-pst-PNG
'She told her name'

Now, according to the RH hypothesis, the controller (the NP that triggers reflexivization) has to be the subject and the victim (the NP that undergoes reflexiviation), a non-subject. This stipulation does not seem to hold good at least for a class of Tamil sentences in which both the controller and the victim are subjects, as in

12. avaṉ taṉṉait tāṉē aṭittuk koṇṭāṉ
he ref-acc ref-emp beat-pat-AvP have pst-PNG
'He (by himself) beat himself'

Note that the term tāṉē in sentence (12) is not the emphatic, which can be added to it if necessary, as in

13. avaṉ taṉṉait tāṉ tāṉē aṭittuk koṇṭāṉ
he ref-acc ref ref-emp beat-pst-Avp have-pst-PNG
'He sure (by himself) beat himself'

I admit that such double subject constructions of Tamil are difficult to explain within any framework. My only comment is that it is very much so in the case of the RH hypothesis.

(vii) The grammatical analysis in relational terms depends crucially upon the NP which is chosen as the subject and which is therefore the starting point of the analysis. But it is rather difficult to find out the universal characteristics of subject. There have been two approaches taken by the relational grammarians in attempting to define subject universally. The comparativists have compiled a list of properties which subjects in various languages are assumed to possess. The generativists seek to explicate subject solely in terms of the grammatical processes in which it is involved. Neither attempt has succeeded. Scholars have concluded that subject is not a valid universal category. For example, van Valin (1977) arrives at this conclusion through a close study of ergative languages in general and Dyirbal in particular. Schachter (1977) comes to this conclusion through an examination of data from Philippine languages. And we find that Tamil has subjectless sentences like

14. avaṉukkut tamiz teriyum
he-dat Tamil know-fu-PNG
'He knows Tamil'

Because the dative NP in such constructions triggers grammatical processes like reflexivization etc., it cannot be argued that it is the basic subject. For, as van Valin has shown for Dyirbal the same process applying to different semantic categories may produce the same result. That is, a rule like reflexive may

operate on two different categories and still have the same result. Just because rule A affects categories X and Y the same way, it cannot be said that X = Y. For other arguments to show that the dative NPs in sentences like (14) are not subjects, see Turcotte (1978). I wish to emphasize here that the existence of subjectless sentences in Tamil affirms our belief that subject is not a universal category.

(viii) Rangan (1983) makes a claim stronger than the one made by the early proponents of RG. He states "The agreement law predicts that only terms can trigger verbal agreement. It is an empirical and falsifiable claim. Similarly only terms can trigger reflexivization. These claims can be falsified if a language is reported in which the nominal holding non-term relation triggers either the verbal agreement or reflexivization. "We have already shown that in a passive sentence in Achenese the verb agrees with the basic subject (which should be a chômeur in the passive) and that in Kapampangan the verb agrees with both the basic (now a chômeur) and derived subjects. And in impersonal passives in Mojave and Hindi the 'derived subject' (original DO) is still marked with the accusative and the verb does not agree with it. (see sentence 3 above). In Tamil, in sentences like (14) the dative noun (semantically, experiencer and hence a non-term triggers reflexivization, as in

15. avaṉukkut taṉmeləyē kōpam
he-dat ref-loc-emp anger
'He is angry with himself'

And it is reported in Sinha (1978), that, "although Perlmutter and Postal concede that the impersonal passive is 'an apparent counter-example' to their hypothesis as well as to 'Motivated chomage Law' they do not seem to worry about it"

(ix) Rangan (1983) cites certain pairs of sentences from Tamil and certain others from Kannada, the point of which eludes me. However, I cannot speak Kannada and I am rather reluctant to discuss those pairs of Tamil sentences, since I have dealt with such pairs in great detail in my dissertation. His characterization of the grammatical relations involved in such pairs is nothing new. T. Kandiah (1967) has made the very same characterization and I have shown that, that characterization is inadequate for Tamil (Paramasivam, 1979)

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Reply to the Comments of Dr. K. Paramasivam

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Professor Paramasivam's comments may be classified into two kinds. One class of arguments presents the current status of the theory i.e., problems internal to the theory. There are two groups of scholars within the theory differing on certain issues. One is the comparative view and the other the generative view. The scholars are divided on certain issues when they work within a broader framework of a theory. It is possible for them to propose alternative hypotheses within the theory itself. However they all agree that relations are primitive terms and they play a significant role in capturing the generalizations cross linguistically. The promotion of object is primary for Postal and Perlmutter whereas the demotion of the underlying subject is primary in the characterization of passivization for Comrie (1977) and others. This is one of the interesting areas of the Relational Grammar which stimulates serious research. Another important area is the characterization of primitive terms. Scholars working within the theory of Relational Grammar are divided on this issue also. Keenan and others believe that the notions like 'Subject' are nondiscrete and gradient whereas Postal, Johnson and others consider these notions as discrete. The latter group does not seem to believe in defining the primitive terms. They may rather be characterized in terms of the processes in which they are involved. The research is interesting because one is encountered with different hypotheses and this situation makes one to look for evidences to prove or disprove a particular view.

Paramasivam raises the question whether it is true that stronger the case one can make for RG, the stronger one can make for autonomous syntax. Autonomy of syntax is simply a position one could take within a theory. For example Newmeyer (1976) argues for the semi-autonomous position within the theory of Relational Grammar. The issue of notational variants is raised when two theories are compared and when it is possible to translate the generalizations expressed in a particular theory into another theory. The theories may differ on the devices they use and the way in which they relate the components of a theory. One may for example, compare two theories even though they take different positions with reference to the issue of autonomy of syntax. This is what we observe when Chomsky (1972) attempts to describe the Generative Semantics as a notational variant of the Extended Standard Theory.

It is pointed out that Newmeyer (1976) derives the sentence

(1) That surprised my uncle

from

(2) My uncle was surprised at that.

The acceptance of this derivation leads us to question the consistency of Relation Annihilation Law. But the derivation of active sentence from the passive sentence is not justified. Newmeyer (1976) is concerned with the issue of whether rules which relate semantic case relations and grammatical relations are separate from the relation changing rules and are not subject to the same laws.

It is reported that in Achenese the verb in passive agrees with the underlying subject and

not with the derived subject (Lawler 1977). In Kapampangan, the verb agrees with both the underlying and derived subjects. Lawler (1977:246-247) suggests that it is possible to handle these problems if we view the notions like 'Subject', 'Object', etc. as a gradient and nondiscrete categoreis. A related problem is the place of the application of verb agreement rule in a grammar. A problem of this kind has been raised with reference to Tamil data in a different context (Rangan 1982).

The following example is given as a counter evidence to the hypothesis of RG from Hindi language.

(3) lərkiko klasse nikal diya gəya
'The girl was driven out of the class'

It is not clear whether this is a counter example to one of the hypothesis in RG. It may be possible to handle the above sentence in terms of demotional hypothesis. The underlying subject of the given example has been demoted and deleted by a later rule.

It is pointed out that how the interaction of the passive and reflexive rules can be prevented from generating an ungrammatical string given below

*(14) pārvati tannāl virumpappaṭṭāḷ
* Parvati was liked by herself'

The corresponding active sentence would be

(5) * pārvatiyai tān virumpināḷ

which is ungrammatical because the object, lower on the scale of Relational Hierarchy, functions as the controller and the subject, higher on the scale, functions as the victim. The above sentence violates the claim that the controller must be higher than the victim on the scale of Relational Hierarchy. The active sentence from which the passive sentence is derived is ungrammatical. Consider the following sentences to support the above argument (examples are drawn from Arokianathan 1980:4)

(6) rāman$_i$ tan$_i$ manaiviyōṭu ennai pārttān
"Raman saw me with self's wife'

(7) rāmanum tan manaiviyum ennai pārttārkaḷ
'Raman and self's wife saw me'

Sentence (7) is ungrammatical because **tan manaivi** functions as the subject but in (6) it functions as an associative phrase.

It is also possible to give alternative explanation. The derivation may be given as below:

(8)	pārvati$_1$	pārvatiyai$_2$	virumpināḷ
(9)	pārvati$_2$	pārvatiyāl$_1$	virumpappaṭṭāḷ
*(10)	pārvati$_2$	tannāl	virumpappaṭṭāḷ

Since the NP that is put in chômeur relation resists to undergo reflexivization, sentence

(10) is ungrammatical.

Paramasivam questions the validity of Relational/ Accessibility Hierarchy. He brings some examples to show that the hierarchy does not work in Tamil. He cites the following as evidences for his claim.

*(11) nān cẹlai vāṅkina manaivi

*(12) auvaiyār pāṭina kūḷ

He argues that there are sentences in which the nominals holding the term relations are not relativizable. One way of explaining this problem is that the idiosyncratic features of lexical items may block the operation of certain

rules. Consider the following constructions from Tamil.

(13) nān pustakam tanta paiyan
'the boy to whom I gave the book

(14) nān paṭam kāṭṭiya kuḷantai
'the child to whom I showed the picture'

(15) tāy cōṟu ūṭṭiya peṇ
'the girl to whom the mother fed'

Alternative way is to look for the semantic features to block the operation. This is what Paramasivam wants to emphasise here. The fact that rules are sensitive to semantic feature of NP do not go against the position of RG. It is clear from the remarks of Gray and Keenan (1977:98) who say, 'taking semantic relations as basic in relational structures will allow us to state, on a language particular basis, atleast certain fairly general restrictions on Passive. E.g.if the Su is not an agent, and the DO is not a patient, it is often the case that passive will not apply' Unlike the grammatical relations, the semantic features for which the rules are sensitive or language specific.

I do not disagree with Paramasivam when he says that **tān** may be characterized as a term that is coreferential with a third person subject. The issue is whether the constraint (i.e. the controller must be higher on the scale of RG than the victim) proposed within the theory of RG works or not. No example has been provided to show the violation of this constraint. With no justification **tān** has been claimed as the subject.

As pointed out by Paramasivam, the comparativists attempt to define the categories like Subject, Object, etc. in terms of the properties they have compiled whereas the generativists characterize these notions with reference to the grammatical processes in which they are involved. Without justifying his position, Paramasivam simply states that since a rule R_i affects both X and Y, X is not equal to Y. In a similar fashion, he has rejected the view that since the dative NP triggers reflexivization, it is the subject in the underlying structure.

With reference to **tān** Paramasivam says that it is a term that is coreferential with a third person subject. Arokianathan (1980:14) concludes that the basic condition for the tānization rule is the subject antecedent condition and the command condition where the antecedent NP, being the subject. Consider the following sentences from Tamil.

(16) co:mskikku **tannuṭaiya** māṇavarkaḷaip-paarri mikap perumai
'Chomsky is proud of his students'

(17) kamalāvukku amma **tannai** virumpu-kiṟāl enpatu teriyum
'Kamala knows that the mother likes her'

If we agree that **tān** refers to the subject in third person, then **co:mskikku** and **kamalā-vukku** are to be treated as the subjects in the underlying structure. Sreedhar (1979) has argued that the dative NP in Kannada is the subject in the initial structure. To establish this, he has taken the reflexivization, coreferential subject deletion and Equi NP deletion rules and shown how the dative NP behaves with reference to these rules.

It has been argued by Paramasivam that the data from Achenese and Kapampangan falsify the claim that only terms can trigger verbal agreement and reflexivization. But a closer examination of the generalizations given from these languages do not invalidate the claim of the Relational Grammar. Rather they support the above claim. No data have been given

from these languages to show that the agreement is between the verb and the NP of nonterm relation. The agreement is always with the subject whether it is the cycle initial or cycle final subject. It is the subject that triggers the verbal agreement whether the derivational stage is underlying or shallow or surface. The following example is given to argue that the nonterm relation triggers the reflexivization process.

(18) avanukku tanmēleyē kōpam

As pointed out earlier, **avanukku** is the subject because **tan** referes to **avanukku.** The process of reflexivization is therefore triggered by the NP of the term relation and not by the NP of the nonterm relation.

The last point that Paramasivam raises is not directly related to the main issue discussed in the paper. The issue is not about the correctness of the characterization of the grammatical relations in the pair of sentences given in the paper. Probably, I could have selected the languages that are unrelated and show different basic word order. It is pointed out by Sreedhar (1979:110) that the subject of an intransitive complement sentence becomes the direct object of the causative sentence and the subject of a sentence with an 'ingestive' verb becomes the indirect object of the causative sentence. Similarly Harris (1981:67) notes that in the causative of an intransitive, the initial subject of the embedded verb is realized as direct object of the causative and in the case of a transitive the initial embedded subject is the derived indirect object in Georgian language. Kannada is a language of SOV word order and Georgian a language of VSO word order. If the rules are formulated with reference to the order of the constituents, the rules will be different though functionally identical. To capture the cross linguistic generalizations and state the rules as universal, the grammatical relations play a significant role in the theory of language description.

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EPILOGUE

The comments of the professors are stimulating and thought-provoking and I admit that I learned many new things from this exchange of views. The exercise of evaluating the theory is postponed because it must be preceded by an exhaustive analysis of Tamil Syntax. As Professor Nadkarni* pointed out in his presidential remarks, one is confronted with three kinds of approaches: (i) treating the formal syntactic categories as primitives; (ii) treating the semantic categories as primitives and (iii) treating the grammatical relations as primitives. The theory of Relational Grammar is better suited to capture the cross linguistic generalizations. We have to bring data from our languages and see how far it is suited to explain the syntax of the languages individually. The contribution of a particular theory is the explanation and insights it offers to the structure of language and not whether these insights and explanation can be incorporated into another theory.

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* Professor M. V. Nadkarni, CIEFL, Hyderabad, presided over the Inaugural Lecture of K. Rangan on 21.3.'83 held at the Tamil University, Thanjavur.

Comments on Dr. K. Sivathamby's Book *Drama in Ancient Tamil Society*

N. SETHURAMAN

I am in receipt of the first issue of your quarterly journal "Tamil Civilization." It contains lot of information - useful for researchers.

In this connection I would like to draw your kind attention to the "Book Review" (pages 105 to 108) published in Tamil Civilization vol.I.No.1. 1983. I have not read the book.- *Drama in Ancient Tamil Society* of Dr. K.Sivathamby. But his surmise in assigning circa 600 A. D. for Cilappadikaram is reasonable.

The poem states that there was a prediction according to which Madurai would be burnt and the city would perish on

a) a Friday (Veḷḷi vāram)
b) in the month Adi
c) Krishna Paksha
d) Ashtami
e) When star Barani and Kartikai were current.

This is an important aspect which was overlooked by many scholars. Such an advanced technique of supplying astronomical data was not known in Tamil Nadu prior to 6th century. We must note here that in North India the lunar data were given in the lunar month. But Cilappadikaram gives the lunar date in the solar month. This is an advanced technique in astronomy. The weekday is also quoted. We must remember here that the weekday is quoted for the first time in Tamil inscription 690 A.D.near Kanchipuram. In the Pandya country the weekday is quoted in Sanskrit grantha inscription dated 773 A.D. **Till 1121 the weekday is not at all quoted in any Pandyan Tamil inscription found in the Pandyamandalam.** But the Pandyan inscriptions of the Cholamandalam quote the weekday in 875 A.D. At any rate the weekday kilamai is not at all found in Sangam literature. For the first time weekday is found in North Indian inscription dated 456 A.D. In Tamil Nadu it appears in 690, 773 and 875A.D. Only one is in Pandymandalam (773). When such is the case how can we expect the weekday in the second century provided this date is assigned to **Cilappadikaram.**

All the seven weekdays were known in Europe. Later this was adopted by other countries. The same names of weekdays referring to the same planets were adopted by all the astronomers. In the Seventh century Sammandar refer to them. Cilappadikaram does not say Veḷḷikilamai. It states Veḷḷivaram. Kilamai in the sense of weekday is not found in anySangam literature. Even Cilappadikaram fails to quote kilamai but states Vāram. This point clearly proves that Cilappadikaram was later.

In the third and second century B.C. Rome adopted six weekdays. Later in the second century it was made seven by adding Wednesday. From Europe, weekdays spread to all other countries (See L.D.S. Indian Ephemeris Volume I).

Saka era was founded by Saka king in North India. The era commenced from 77 A.D. However till 400 A.D. saka year is not found in any inscription in India. For the first time it appears (400 A.D.) in an inscription near Ratnagiri south of Bombay. In Tamil Nadu saka year is quoted for the first time in 870 A.D.

Mahavamsa the Ceylon chronicle was written after 8th century. Later it went through several modifications. This **Mahavamsa** which

was written after 8th century - states that Gajabahu lived in the saka year 100. This is really strange. When saka era was not at all in full use in India in the period 1-400 A.D. how can we find a reference to Saka 100 in **Mahavamsa** which was written after 800 A.D.? That portion of **Mahavamsa** is nothing but pure imagination.

The object of the poem **Cilappadikaram** is different. It brings many historical characters in order to enhance the value of the poem. It does not mean that all the historical characters were contemporaries. For example Karikala Chola is mentioned. He was the king who built the banks for Cauvery. The latest research shows that he lived around 470 A.D. There are inscriptions and Telugu records which confirm this date. When such is the case how can Kovalan of second century walk on the Cauvery banks built by Karikala of 470 A.D.?

Another example is Villi Bharatham. The poet introduces Chera, Chola and Pandya. The poet does not like the Pandya. So he states that the Pandya dies in the Bharata war. While describing the Chola the poet states that the great Chola brought Ganges water, took Madurai and Vanci. These are the claim of Rajendra Chola I (1012-1043) and Kulothunga Chola III (1178-1218). In the Villi Baratam, Karna states that he will be always faithful to Raja Rajan alias Duriyodana. This is a clear reference to Kopperunchinga the feudatory of Raja Raja III. Kopperunchinga became traitor and imprisoned Raja Raja in 1230. The poet Villiputurar states that Karna was faithful to Raja Rajan alias Duriyodhana. The poet indirectly condemns Kopperunchinga.

Thus it is common for the poets to introduce the past historical characters in the poem. The date of the poem is to be decided on the basis of the latest information furnished and not on the basis of earliest event referred to.

The date of **Cilappadikaram** is no doubt later than the 6th century-Mr. Sivathamby is correct.

The three Tamil is always considered as Iyal, Isai, Nātakam. Nātakam itself contains music, dance and prose. When such is the case, I wonder whether it is an independent identity. Further the word is in Sanskrit and not Tamil. This objection is overshadowed by introducing Kōtu.

In the Tiru Āppanūr Pathikam, Sambandar states Ātal, Iyal, Isai. This must be correct. In the three Tamil, each should have its own identity and individuality.

I trust these factors will be taken into consideration in the course of further research in the University.

BOOK REVIEW

Tamil Temple Myths: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Saiva Tradition by David Dean Shulman.

(Princeton University Press, 1980. xvi 471pp. Bibliography, Index of Motifs, Index of Place Names and Local Deity Names. us $ 30.)

This study fills "an important gap in our knowledge of South India, for Tamil Nadu has recorded a local tradition of mythology extraordinary in its variety and imaginative range, and differing in many respects from the classical northern tradition" (p.3). In this study, Shulman explores some major themes of myths drawn from Tamil temple **tala-purāṇas,** prose retellings of myths, commentaries on grammatical and literary works, popular devotional hymns and folk sources. Shulman is aware that the arena Tamil Nadu- for these myths represents a kind of melting pot of northern and southern Indian cultures, and he notes that the Tamil myths have taken many of the most famous northern myths and adopted them to their own purposes. The Tamil **purāṇas** have modified Sanskrit myths motifs, and deities which in turn, function as the "carriers of a local, south Indian tradition with its own characteristic ideas and concerns"(p.8).

This book is thematically organized in six chapters: **Introduction, The Phenomenon of Localization, The Creative Sacrifice, The Divine Marriage, The Demon Devotee** and **Conclusion.** The **Introduction** discusses Tamil mythology placed in its pan-Indian context, the symbolic meaning of pilgrimage and the role of the shrine in pilgrimage, and the types of Tamil **purāṇas** and their prototypes. Also included in the **Introduction** is an instructive section on Shulman's method.

Shulman begins by setting the stage for his engaging discourse and preparing his audience for the forthcoming symbolic journey through the myths created around the various shrines scattered all over south India. He accomplishes this goal by first telling his readers about the significance of the birthplace of the myths: the shrines. Tamil myths differ from their northern counterparts in localizing Gods mythic action. In otherwords, in the Tamil tradition, a mythic action can be traced to a particular shrine. In capturing God's actions and assigning them to various shrines, these myths alert a pragmatic reader to the tension between the "limitation implicit in the localization of the deity" (p.40), and God's omnipresence proclaimed by his devotees.

As one of the ways of explaining this tension Shulman undertakes the task of analyzing the religious conceptions that underlie a divine phenomenon – the **Phenomenon of Localization** in Chapter II. In this chapter, various cosmological motifs – e.g., the temple tree, the stone image of the God, and the sacred waters – that recur in the myths and illustrate **the prime importance of the shrine** are discussed first. Each shrine is considered by the devotees as **the only center** of the universe. Shulman emphasizes that the deity of the shrine cannot be removed from a spot endowed with the divine characteristic of directly linking heaven and the other world. In addition, the shrine can never by destroyed, not even by the cosmic

flood which brings about the universal destruction at the end of each cycle of time. Shulman interprets the flood myths as illustrating the indestructibility of the shrine and as affirming that after the cosmic flood God recreates the universe once more by withdrawing the flood. He interprets the motif of erecting walls around a shrine, or building dykes to hold back a raging river in a holy site as symbolically enacting the completion of isolating the holy shrine situated at the center of the universe in order to protect it from the outside world of disorder (p.77). This isolation, in Shulman's opinion, "ultimately links the shrine to the Brahminical ideals of independence and freedom from evil" (p.88). At the same time, the idealized, isolated shrine "serves the devotee in his everyday mundane existence" (p.88).

What is the import then, of the concept of "localization" of a deity? Shulman surveys several myths and resolves the issue: "for the purposes of the myth, the idea of divine omnipresence is completely subordinated to the idea of the God's **special yearning for a particular place**" (p.82). In my opinion, this is one of the best chapters in this book. However, the theme of 'divine immanence' needs to be looked into further due to the evidence available in the earliest Tamil literary sources which portray divinity as 'mobile'.

The rest of the book (excluding the **Conclusion**) concerns the themes suggested by the subtitle of this book: **Sacrific and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Saiva Tradition.** (A few **Vaiṣṇava** myths are also discussed in the book). For Shulman, the Tamil flood myths reveal the basic Indian notion of sacrifice: life is born out of death, chaos, and darkness. In dealing with the complexity of the problems of interpreting myths about the origin of the shrines (which he sees, on a symbolic level, as myths of "creative sacrifice") Shulman assumes that "an early ideology of (Tamil) sacrifice which strongly recalls and was perhaps assimilated to the Vedic sacrificial cult, lies at the basis of the tradition of many Tamil shrines"(p.9) Therefore, it becomes pertinent for him to interpret the motif of the oozing of blood as a conventional symbol of sanctity, in many sites eventually consecrated as shrines. In addition, since Shulman believes that from ancient times the idea of sacrifice (bloody in nature) in Tamil society was associated with the worship of the **Goddesss, "who embodies basic south Indian concepts of woman and sacred power"** (p.9), it is necessary for him to interpret Tamil myths celebrating the marriage between the God and the Goddess in the light of the "creative sacrifice" and as demonstrating the connection between bloody sacrifice and the consummating aspect of the divine marriage. Shulman accepts the hypothesis that, in the Tamil view, the sacred is dangerous and potentially polluting. He expects that sometime during the evolution of the myths, the sacrificial rituals performed to the indigenous Tamil deity were at odds with the imported Brahminical claim to purity.

Therefore, Shulman refers to the "sacrifice of the breath" **(prāṇāgnihotra)** in the Vedic sacrificial cult, as a **substitute for the original blood sacrifice** and ascertains that "within the Brahmin tradition itself there was a powerful impetus toward freedom from the burden of death, which was an unavoidable part of the sacrificial ritual in its early form. It is this **transformed tradition** that was imported into South India, and that both crystalized and ultimately **reinterpreted a local myth of violent sacrifice" (p.10)** Thus, Shulman sees in the internal development within the Tamil marriage myths "a stage in which the myth of sacrifices has been radically reworked so as to exclude the participation of the main God, the consort of the Goddess" (p.9) This is where the demon devotee finds a place in Shulman's analysis. The demon devotee is considered by Shulman

as a substitute for the God in the sacrifice of divine marriage. The mechanics and meaning of this evolution of the trend away from violence - - a search for purity and vitality pulling away from polluting violent power -- constitute the major part of this book in three chapters: **The Creative Sacrifice, The Divine Marriage,** and **The Demon Devotee.** Some sections (**"The Double Bride"** in Chapter IV: The Divine Marriage, and **"Bail and the Dwarf in the Irāmāvatāram" in** Chapter V: The Demon devotee) are a few examples of Shulman's expertise on aesthetics. The **Conclusion** summarizes the major symbolic interpretations of the myths considered in this study, focusing on the cluster of themes and motifs surrounding what Shulman would refer to the myths of marriage.

Given the multiplicity, complexity, and perplexity of Tamil myths, Shulman has admirably succeeded in discerning recurring patterns and in creating an intriguing collage in the form of a book. Even the dark green and golden yellow colours meticulously chosen for the book cover and its jacket symbolically represent **Siva's** two 'brides': 'the dark **Kāḷi** and the golden **Gaurī** (p.291) Just as an intriguing collage is apt to inculcate multiversant feelings in its viewers, this book is apt to inculcate multifarious opinions in its readers. For admirers of Levi-Straussian structuralism, this book is a treasure. Other readers must be willing to understand and accept a system of symbolic equivalences (in which one thing stands for something else) in order to grasp the logic underlying Shulman's arguments. Some readers might feel that in an attempt to bring together coherently myths which are workking in various directions, Shulman has pulled out symbolic equivalences from tangential layers of various traditions. For those well-versed in the traditional Tamil poetic techniques of **uḷḷuṟai uvamam, iṟaicci,** and **piṟitu molital aṇi,** those techniques would help to **some extent** in appreciating Shulman's interpretations.

Most puzzling (and in a few instances unacceptably) to me in this book is how Shulman uses the analogy drawn between sacrifice and marriage. The basic theme underlying the Tamil marriage myths is this: Because **Devi, Siva's** celestial consort, has committed some faults (for example, covering the two eyes of **Siva** with her hands while playing on the Himalayas), she is sent down to the earth, to be born in a place in the South in order to expiate those misdeeds. She performs **tapas** (penance) in the South and longs for her union with **Siva.** In some shrines, the terrestrial union does take place and the marriage is consummated whereas in some others the Goddess has to remain as a virgin longing eternally for her lord **Siva.** Shulman's observation that "the central structural element of the Tamil **talapurāṇam** is, in a majority of instances, the myth of **Devi's** marriage to the God "(p.138) is irrefutable. I also agree that the marriage myths describe" in addition to the revelation of the God and the Goddess the esssential nature of their relation to one another, to their worshipers and to the sacred site" (p.138).

However, in my view, Shulman's interpretation of these marriage myths depend unnecessarily heavily on some assumptions and theories which are questionable, controversial, and ought to be reworked: They are, (1) Shulman's own assumption that "perhaps from very anicent times the idea of sacrifice was associated with the worship of the Goddess" (p.9), and (2) an earlier theory proposed by George Hart that "from earliest times the Tamils have seen in woman a concentration of dangerous power" (p.140). Moreover, the comparison of marriage to sacrifice needs clarification.

The earliest Tamil literary sources (the **cankam** anthologies) do not prove that the ritual of sacrifice was associated with the worship of the Goddess. On the contrary, bloody sacrifice was performed to the indigenous male

deity **Murukan** and to the memorial stones erected in honor of the local dead male warriors. It is in a later work, the **Cilappatikaram,** that we hear about sacrifice in association with the worship of a Goddess. Even if it is the **Cilappatikaram** that Shulman owes his claim to regarding sacrifice and its association with the worship of the Goddess,one question remains unanswered. How could and why would one ignore the bloody sacrifice to the indigenous **male** deity **Murukan** and the hero stones erected in memory of the local dead **male** warriors?

The so-called Tamil conception of woman as the locus of a dangerous sacred power (**aṇaṅkul,** as Hart would identify it: c.f.p. 140) has been fully utilized in this book. Shulman draws references from many secondary sources as evidence for the existence of such a concept. In the context of describing the dangers **Siva** faces when he weds the dark Goddess, Shulman asserts: "Ultimately, in bearing children, woman creates new life; but this life is produced from the **violence** of sexual union which clearly is felt to wreak destruction upon the male" (p.174). Although such a negative interpretation of sexual union is not central to the major thrust of the book, it could trigger a legitimate cynical interpretation in its mildest form: "As the result of the violence of sexual union, woman creates new life. Nevertheless, it wreaks destruction upon her own body; her virginity - a virtue so much prized in her culture - is now demolished; she begins to lose her physical charm; her husband loses interest in her and starts avoding her .. etc. And why not interpret Tamil temple myths of marriage from this perspective?" But, is this what we need? No; rather, **we need to drastically rework the theory about the conception of Tamil woman as embodying a dangerous sacred power, and to discover the underlying truth.**

Shulman draws the comparison of marriage to sacrifice from classical Sanskrit sources, and he quotes one of them: "Woman, verily, is a sacrificial fire, O Gautama. The sexual organ, in truth, is its fuel; the hairs, the smoke; the vulva, the flame; when one inserts, the coals; the feelings of pleasure, the sparks. In this oblation the Gods offer semen. From this oblation a person (**puruṣa**) arises" (p.142). In another story, we are told that "The husband enters as an embryo his wife (who becomes) his mother" (p.142). Basing his analysis on such passages, Shulman deduces: "The husband is identified with the seed that he gives to his wife; **the womb of the wife is then analogous to the sacrifice out of which the sacrificer is reborn.** The Tamil myths work this concept out in all its richness;..they concentrate in particular on the violence attendant on the sacrifice. The God seeks and attains a death-in-love in order to gain greater power in another birth" (p.142). Stated schematically, in Shulman's view, the marriage myths describe "**the God's death at the hands of his wife and his subsequent rebirth from her womb"** (p.142). His appreciation for classical Sanskrit sacrificial metaphors coupled with his acceptance of a questionable theory proposed earlier by Hart that "from earliest times the Tamils have seen in woman a concentration of dangerous power" (p.140), has urged Shulman to state that in marrying the virgin goddess,"the God exposes himself to an intense, even lethal danger" (p.141).

As per the Tamil literary sources, different stands of sacrificial ritual can be identified. From the earliest surces of the **caṅkam** anthologies we learn that there was invariably a divinity involved in the ritual of sacrifice as the recipient of the sacrificial offering(s) (e.g. **Partiṟṟuppattu** 70:18). The ritual of sacrifice did not necessarily involve a sacrificial fire, but a prayer or request was made to the divinity (**Akanāṉūṟu 282; Naṟṟiṇai 358).** However, at least in one instance, an explicit reference is made to the Brahmins who performed the sacrifice (**antanar),** sacrificial fire (**kanal),** sacrificial offering(?) **syāṭu,** a goat), and the deity to whom the sacri-

fice was performed (**āli mutalvan/Māl,** the later **Viṣṇu) (Paripāṭal 2:61-68).** On the other hand, in a later work **(Kalinkattupparani)** from about the 10th century A.D., **self-sacrifice of warriors to the war Goddess (korravai)** is mentioned.

Given this background of differing trends in the ritual of sacrifice reflected in the Tamil literary tradition, those who know only the Tamil material will puzzle over the Sanskrit sacrificial metaphors (p.142), as well as how Shulman uses them in analyzing Tamil myths of divine marriage. When these scholars read Shulman's interpretation that in the Tamil myths of divine marriage the underlying pattern is "that of **self-sacrifice of the God to his bride**" (p.212), they will wonder whether the **Kalinkattupparani** tradition **(of killing and offering oneself to the Goddess)** is the undercurrent of these myths.

One deceptive aspect of this book concerns the lack of an historical dimension. Very rarely, does Shulman ground his analysis historically; he seems to be aware of this lack of an historical dimension since he says, "The fact that many of the myths cited below were written down only in the fairly recent past says little about the date of their origins" (p.15). However, since the book emphasizes an internal development within the data (pp.9-10)., the reader will expect a chronological treatment of the material.

Shulman's enthusiasm and knowledge of the sources are commendable and awe-inspiring. Nowhere else has so much material on Tamil **Saiva** mythology been brought together in one place. In fact, sometimes the reader might be overwhelmed with the spurting of references. Shulman provides to prove his point, e.g., the overly extensive references to the erotic force that eyes have in Indian symbolism (pp.167-168), and might easily be distracted from the thrust of his main argument.

The criticism outlined here is not intended to undermine the value of Shulman's achievement. Each chapter in this book is very rich. In several cases, the book is provocative, and will stimulate further research. As far as I know, this is the first sophisticated scholarly approach to the Tamil literature of myths and it can provide a model for future students. Since Shulman has summarized many myths which have not been translated hitherto, folklorists, scholars of Tamil mythology, and historians of religion will be grateful that he has granted them access to these myths. For the anthropologists with the question "How are the attitudes and values of a society reflected in its mythology?" this work will prove to be a good reference. Scholars of Sanskrit mythology who are eager to know about the 'southern' versions of many Hindu myths, will find this book very informative. On the other hand, some historians will grumble about the lack of historicity in this study. But, all will agree that it is a welcome contribution to Tamil studies. — Rajam Ramamurthi, University of Pennsylvania.

Separation of Sri Lanka Tamil from Continental Tamil

A. SANMUGADAS

1. Introduction

Any scholar who had studied the Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Tamil[1] (henceforth, SLT) had noticed some linguistic peculiarities that differentiate it from the Continental Tamil (i.e. Indian Tamil, henceforth CT.) In 1918, Hornell (as reported in Kuiper, 1962) made the following observation: "The Jaffna Tamils, long isolated in the north of Ceylon, are noted as having retained many Tamil customs long since lost by their continental kindred and as employing in ordinary speech a form of Tamil closely approaching the classical." A number of studies made on SLT[2] had revealed that it has a different phonological, morphological, syntactic and intonational pattern from that of CT. These differences sometimes tempt one to suggest that SLT is a different language.

The situation regarding the intelligibility between SLT and CT has been described as 'non-reciprocal' (see, Sanmugadas, 1979:2-3, for further details.) Similar observation has earlier been made by Suseendirarajah (1973) as follows: "The Sri Lanka dialect of Tamil differs sharply from the Indian dialect of Tamil. The differences are so great and important especially at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels that for many Tamil speakers in Sri Lanka and India the mutual intelligibility is impaired to a remarkable degree.... As a result the speakers of Sri Lanka Tamil understand speakers of Indian Tamil more readily than the speakers of Tamil in India understand them". The differences between SLT and CT also had led scholars to inquire into the possible period of time in

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1. The term "Sri Lanka Tamil" here refers to the language spoken by the Non-Indian Tamils. Indentified by ethnic groups, the Tamil speakers in Sri Lanka are distributed as follows:

Sri Lanka Tamils	:	1,415,567
Indian Tamils	:	1,195,368
Sri Lanka Moors	:	824,291
Indian Moors	:	29,416

(Census Report, 1972)

2. Swami Vipulananda (1941), Nadarajah (1946), Kanapathi Pillai (1958), Susumu Kun (1958), Zvelebil (1959-60, 1966), Kuiper (1962), Shanmugam Pillai (1962), Thananjayarajasingham (1962, 1972 and 1973), Suseendirarajah (1967, 1970, 1973 a-c), Kandiah (1967), Sanmugadas (1972, 1975 1976, 1979 and 1981), Balasubramaniam and Thananjayarajasingham (1973).

which the former could have separated from the latter. According to Kanapathi Pillai (1958: 219-20), little before the Christian era, Tamils had "made settlements in Sri Lanka and got mixed up with the indigenous people called Nagas. By that time when the third Tamil Academy flourished in the city of Madura, Tamil literary men from this part of the country had got recognition from the Tamil Academy. The poems of *Īḷattup Pūtaṉ Tēvaṉār (Pūtaṉ Tēvaṉ* of Īḷam) are included in the Sangam collection of Tamil poems. Īḷam was the name of Ceylon during the early period.. It is not totally wrong to assume that the colloquial dialect prevalent at present in North Ceylon is a continuation of the speech spoken during the period under discussion." This is only an assumption. Since we do not have any records regarding the spoken form of Tamil during the Christian era, it is difficult to prove it.

Linguistically, Dravidian metaphony seems to be an important evidence that could be considered in connection with the possible period of time when SLT separated from CT. In this connection SLT should be treated as a hypersystem containing at least two important dialects, namely, Jaffna Tamil (henceforth JT) and Batticaloa Tamil (henceforth, BT.) Except a few, all the other papers which studied SLT have devoted to the study of *JT* only. Therefore, in this paper an attempt is made to bring out salient linguistic features of BT and to compare them with the other dialects in order to suggest the possible period of time in which JT and BT separated from the CT.

2. Batticaloa Tamil

Batticaloa is the principal district of the Eastern province of Sri Lanka. It consists of the electorates of Kalkudah, Batticaloa, Kalmunai, Paddiruppu, Campānturai and Amparai. In this part of Sri Lanka, the predominant population is Tamil speaking. The main religious groups are the Hindus, Christians and Muslims. Other ethnic groups such as the Dutch and the Portuguese Burghers and the Kuravars are also found in some parts of Batticaloa. The Sinhalese are predominant in Amparai and they are also found scattered in the other electorates.

The Batticaloa Tamils are noted for their preservation of certain customs and manners which are different from that of the Tamils of the Northern province (see. Kandiah, V.S., for details.) The patterns of social structure of the former are also found to be distinct from that of the latter. The idea of caste division that has been prevailing among the Tamils of the Northern province is not to be found among the Batticaloa Tamils. Apart from the social differences, we find marked differences in the language of these two regions. Swami Vipulananda (1941:23) made the following observation:

> "I am a native of Batticaloa which lies in the eastern part of Ceylon. The spoken language of that country is different from the spoken language of Jaffna."

Swami Vipulananda made this observation when Professor Kanapathi Pillai was extensively using his regional dialect in his plays[3]. He

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3. Professor Kanapathi Pillai is from the village called Thumpalai in **Point** Pedro in the Jaffna district. He says in his introductions to his volumes of plays, namely, **Nānāṭakam** and **Irunāṭakam** that he is consciously using a dialect which is spoken in his village.

in a letter to Kanapathi Pillai urged him to record even the Batticaloa dialect in his plays. Although Kanapathi Pillai was unable to comply with this request, some of the leading literary artists of Sri Lanka began using the Batticaloa dialect in their creative works from 1950.

Scholars who have worked on the Tamil dialects of Sri Lanka seem to have concentrated on the spoken Tamil of Jaffna region. Some of them (for example, Subramanya Sastri, 1934:54 and Hornell) have even claimed that JT closely approaches the classical. These scholars have not made any observation about BT. It may be that the necessary data regarding BT might not have been available to them to make such observations. Zvelebil (1966:125-31) was the first scholar who made an attempt to investigate BT linguistically. Though his paper gives only a very brief account of the linguistic features of BT, it provided several useful observations on it. Zvelebil was the first scholar to note that BT too can be regarded as a form approaching classical:

> "The Batticaloa form of speech is THE MOST LITERARY - LIKE OF ALL SPOKEN DIALECTS OF TAMIL. It is the MOST MARGINAL dialect of the language, and as such, it has preserved on the one hand, several very antique features, and it has features, and it has remained more true to the literary norm than any other form of Tamil; but on the other hand, it has developed a few striking innovations."

After Zvelebil's paper, there have been only two serious studies on BT, namely, Suseendirarajah's paper on "A Study of Pronouns in Batticaloa Tamil" (1973) and Sanmugadass "Some Features of Batticaloa Dialect of Tamil' (1976).

3. BT, JT and CT - Differences and Similarities

3.1. Vowels

3.1.1. The phonological elements /i/ and/u/ of JT and of the literary Tamil become e and o respectively in BT. Bright (1966) had noted the development of South Dravidian phonology which shows through its entire recorded and reconstructable history, extensive vocalic assimilation of the type which is known as metaphony, umlaut or vowel assimilation. He specifically pointed out the high vowels of word initial open syllables becoming lower when the following syllable contains the low vowel /a/. Krishnamurti (1958) in his paper on "Alternations i/e and u/o in South Dravidian" has traced the development of this metaphonic phenomenon in the South Indian languages. According to Krishnamurti and Bright, this alternation seems to have occurred when Proto-Dravidian changed into Proto-South Dravidian. Thus the Proto-Dravidian /i/ and /u/ in the environment before single consonant plus /a/ changed to /e/ and /o/ respectively in the Proto-South Dravidian (e.g. *iṭ >*eṭ-aṟu' 'stumble') But later, as Bright (1966:311) notes, when the Proto-South Dravidian broke up into Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam /e/ and /o/ were maintained only in the first two languages. In literary Tamil and Malayalam, these mid vowels, in the environment before a single consonant plus /a/, changed to /i/ and /u/ respectively. But this change seemed to have not occurred in some of the spoken varieties of Tamil. BT and CT seem to have preserved the metaphonic change that occurred in Proto-Dravidian times, i.e. the change of /i/ and /u/ to/ /e/ and /o/ respectively. The following from BT will suffice as examples:

(1) /i/ → e :

iṭattila	eṭattila	'at that place'
kiṭakku	keṭakku	'(it) is there'
niṉaivu	neṉavu	'recollection'
ira:vukku	eravukki	'for night'
cilai	cele	'statue'

(2) /u/→o:

kuravai	korave	'folk dance'
kuṟaivu	koṟavu	'short'
uṭane:	oṭane	'immediately'
kurakkan	korakkan	'a grain'

Kanapathi Pillai (1958:221) gives a few examples for i/e and u/o alternations in JT. But this change is not found to be regular in JT as it found in BT.

3.1.2. /u/ in the second syllable is normally realised as an unrounded (ɯ) in JT. But it changes into a palatalized (ɯ̇) in BT in certain positions. This is an interesting development of the shorter u that the traditional grammarians have often referred to. It is useful to trace its development historically. Traditional Tamil grammarians recognized a phonological element called **kuṟṟiyalukaram.** Tolkappiar recognized the short, high, bach, rounded vowel /u/ as a primary sound (mutal eḷuttu) and another kind of shorter /u/ as a secondary sound (carpu eḷuttu). The latter is called **kuṟṟiyalukaram**, 'the shortened u.' According to Tolkappiyar the difference between the short /u/ and the shorter /u/ has to be found in quantity and in the type of script that represents each of them. The time taken to articulate short /u/ according to Tolkappiyar, is one **māttirai** (unit of time), whereas the time taken for shorter /u/ is less than one **māttirai.** Further, he mentions, if we rely upon the commentaries by Pēraciṟiyar and Civagnānamunivar, that the script which represents short /u/ (i.e. உ), with a dot over it, represents the shorter /u/ (i.e. உ̇)[4]. But Tolkappiyar has not made any explicit statements regarding whether the short u/ and the shorter /u were considered phonemic. By the time of Naccinārkkiṉiyar, a commentator of **Tolkāppiyam,** the short /u/ and the shorter /u/ have become phonemic. "Nacciṉārkiṉiyar refers to the shorter u and short u contrasting in the same environment in words like **kātu, kaṭṭu, murukku** and **teruṭṭu.** If the u is short, these words are in the imperative mood: **kātu** 'murder', **kaṭṭu** 'bind', **murukku** 'twist' and **teruṭṭu** 'threaten'; if the u is shorter, these words are nouns: **katu** "ear', **kaṭṭu** 'binding', **murukku** 'twisting', **teruṭṭu** 'threatening'" (see Shanmugam, 1967:53 for further details). Apart from this difference, not only Nacciṉārkkiniyar[5] but also Iḷampūraṇar[6] has made an interesting phonetic statement regarding the short /u/ and the shorter /u/. According to them, short /u/ is pronounced with lip rounding and the shorter /u/ without lip rounding. Thus the shorter /u/, according to them, was regarded as an unrounded, high, back vowel which can phonetically be transcribed as (ɯ)

The early Tamil grammarians ascribed the phonetic feature unroundedness to /u/ which occurs at the final position after a stop consonant. Even Āṟumuga Nāvalar who wrote **Ilakkaṇaccurukkam** during the last decades of the 19th century also refers to this state of affairs. But in JT and IT, at present as we observe, the feature unroundedness can be ascribed not only to the /u/ that occurs after a stop consonant finally, but also in certain other positions too. In JT, the rounded u occurs only at the initial position of a word; in all other positions, the unrounded (ɯ) is heard. Thus at this stage of development, the contrast between the short and the shorter /u/ has disappeared; only the contrast between

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4. According to the commentaries to sutra 2 of **Tolkāppiyam**: Eluttatikāram (**Tol. Elu.**) by them, Tolkappiyar seems to have suggested this script for shorter /u/.

5. **Tol. Elu.**, Naccinarkkiniyar urai, pp. 91-2.

6. **Tol. Elu.**, Ilampuranar urai, V.O. Chidamparampillai's edition, Madras, 1941, p. 62

the rounded and the unrounded is maintained in most of the Tamil dialects.

Although we find this phenomenon even in BT, a further development in connection with the unrounded [ɯ] has also taken place in it. That is, the unrounded [ɯ] changes into a palatalized [ⁱɯ]. For instance, the underlying phonological element /u/ in the following words will realize as an unrounded [ɯ] in JT; but as a palatalized (ⁱɯ) in BT:

(3)	JT	BT	
/iru/	irɯ	iriɯ̄	'sit'
/pañcu/	pañcɯ	pañciɯ̄	'cotton'
/putucu/	putɯ cɯ	putiɯciɯ̄	'new'
/urukki/	urɯ kki	uriɯ̄ kkiɯ̄	'having melted'

3.1.3. While unrounded [ɯ] is changed to a palatalized [ⁱɯ], the final i is dropped before another vowel in BT. The normal sandhi rule in Tamil is that if two vowels co-occur in sandhi, then /y/ or /v/ is inserted in between those two vowels in order to prevent hiatus. The only exception is the deletion of the shorter /u/ before any vowel. But in BT, a unique feature in connection with these sandhi rules is found. Consider the following examples:

(4) arici + ellām
'rice' 'all' 'all the rice'
ācci + eṅka
'grand-mother' 'where'
'Where is grand-mother?

In JT, an insertion of an approximant /y/ is needed in the above expressions:

(5) arici + ellām → ariciyellām
ācci + eṅka → ācciyeṅka

But in BT, the hiatus filler /y/ is not found in such expressions. Instead, the final vowel is dropped:

(6) arici + ellām → aricellām
ācci + eṅka → ācceṅka

This unique feature is found only in BT and not in other dialects. The epigraphical records too confirm this linguistic feature. Campanturai Copper Plates (Velupillai, 1971:63) has the following expression, namely, **kācilē** 'in Kasi, i.e. Varanasi'. The structural pattern of this expression in literary Tamil will be:

(7) kāci + il + ē

In JT, the above expression will emerge as:

(8) Kāci + il + ē → Kāciyilē

But in BT, instead of inserting /y/ to prevent hiatus, the final /i/ in **kāci** is dropped. The above mentioned epigraphical record which is being dated in the mid 17th century, seems to have preserved a linguistic feature which is present even now in BT.

3.1.4. It is the practice in CT to add an euphonic vowel /u/ to forms ending in /r/. This feature is not found in JT. But in BT, the euphonic vowel /u/ is added not only to words ending in /r/, but also in certain other forms where /r/ clusters with other consonants in the medial position. For instance, **vērvai** 'sweat' of the literary Tamil becomes **vēruva** in BT. The following are examples for adding /u/ to /r/ endings:

(9)			
pēr	→	pēru	'name'
pōvār	→	pōvāru	'he will go'
tayir	→	tayiru	'curd'

3.1.5. Metaphony operates in JT, BT and CT to differentiate long [e:] from [ɛ:] For instance, /ee/ in /teevan/ 'name of a person' is mid, front, long vowel [e:] in JT. But it is always palatalized low, front, long vowel [ɛ:] in BT. The frequent occurrence of this

palatalized low, front, long vowel exerts a tremendous influence on the pronunciation of some English and Sinhala words by the Batticaloa students. For example, the English word **bank** [boen] and the Sinhala words **kama** [kȍe:ma] 'food' are observed to be pronounced by Batticaloa students as [bϵ :n] and [kϵ : ma] respectively. Bright (1966:316) notes that Vellore dialect of IT has [e'] when a high vowel follows, [ϵ'] elsewhere, e.g. v [e:]ṇū 'is wanted' vs. v[ϵ'] ṇā 'is not wanted', k [e'] ṭṭu 'having asked' vs. k [ϵ']ṭṭu 'I asked'.

3.1.6. Bright (1966:318) had observed a different type of vocalic assimilation, found in medieval and modern Kanarese. It involves medial vowels: i>u before u, and u>i before e. He cites the following examples: Usiru 'breathe'> **usuru,tiḷipu** 'make known' **tiḷupu** (cf. **tiḷi** 'be known.) a**ḍuge** 'cooking' > a**ḍige**. **It** has already been noted (see, 3.1.2) that u of JT changes to i in BT. The converse too (i.e. i>u) occurs in BT:

(10) piṭiccan →	puṭiccan	'I caught'
viṭu →	ūṭu	'house'
piḷḷai →	puḷḷai	'daughter'

3.1.7. There are scattered instances of e changing to o in CT:

(11)	peṇ →	poṇṇu	'woman'
	peṭṭai →	poṭṭai	'girl'

In BT too, the front mid vowel e (or e) changes to o (or o):

(12)	peṭṭi →	poṭṭi	'box'
	peṇcātimār →	poñcātimār	'wives'
	vēṇum →	ōṇum	'want'

In both CT and BT, an unexpected o is encountered in some instances. Bright (1966:313, f.n.11) regards this change as Proto-Dravidian *e yielding o. The following can be given as examples:

Proto-Dravidian	Literary Tamil	CT	
(13) *meḷaku	miḷaku	moḷaku	'pepper'
*teṟa	tiṟa	toṟa	'to open'
*peḷai	poiḷai	poḷai	'earn'
*peṟa	piṟa	poṟa	'be born'

Photo-Dravidian	Literary Tamil	BT	
(14) *teṟa	tiṟa	toṟa	'open'
	piṟaku	poṟavu	'later'

3.2. Consonants

3.2.1. A phonetic alveolar stop is encountered in JT in certain words like **pōyiṟṟu** 'it has gone', **vēṇṭiṟṟu** 'having bought', **kūṭṭiṟṟu** 'having swept', etc. All the words cited here are verbal forms. In literary Tamil these are rendered as: **pōyviṭṭu, vēṇṭiviṭṭu, kūṭṭiviṭṭu** respectively. The structure of these verbal forms is as follows: Adverbial participle, as the base + Aspect marker (—/viṭu/-)+ **u.** In JT, the aspect marker -viṭu-realizes as either -iṟṟ- or -īṟṟ-(Single intervocalic -ṟ- is always a trill in SLT and the double -ṟṟ- are alveolar stops). The retroflex stop consonant in the aspect marker of literary Tamil realizes as an alveolar stop in JT. *The initial /v/- is dropped.* In BT, *the retroflex* consonant realizes as a dental stop. This seems to be an interesting phenomenon which can be treated as a unique feature in BT. The words cited above will be rendered in BT as: **peyttu, vēṇṭittu, kūṭṭittu** respectively. The literary word /maṟṟa/ 'other' is rendered in JT as **maṟṟa.** But BT has dental stops in that word: **matta'.** In CT too, dental stops are found in this instance.

3.2.2. Zvelebil (1966: 126-7) has noticed a transition of intervocalic -k- to -v- in BT. The intervocalic -/k/- of the literary Tamil becomes a voiced or voiceless fricative in JT. Zvelebil noticed a voiceless fricative in BT. Further, he had also noticed the change of -k- to -v-

He gives **cukam suvam** as an example. I like to add the following examples too:

(15)	pōka	pōva	'to go'
	piṟaku	poṟavu	'later'

4. Conclusion

Suseendirarajah (1973) in his study of the pronouns of BT has shown many similarities between BT and IT. On the strength of these similarities and of the preservation of an older state of language in JT, he suggests (p.179) that "JT would have separated from IT long before BT separated from IT". The data found in this paper provide evidence for some more similarities between BT and IT. Especially the *i*/e and u/o alternations in BT and IT (3.1.1.) may help us to fix the period for the separation of BT and JT from IT. i/e and u/o alternations are not found in JT (Examples given by Kanapathi Pillai (1958:221) for i/e and u/o alternations in JT are not only found in that dialect but also in other Sri Lanka Tamil dialects). Bright (1966:311) pointed out that the Proto-Dravidian i and u changed to e and o when the Proto South Dravidian split off from the Proto-Dravidian. He further shows that when the Proto-South Dravidian broke up into Telugu, Kannada and Tamil, e and o were preserved in Telugu, Kannada and in some spoken varieties of Tamil. This may have been the actual period when JT which prefers i and u separated from IT which like Telugu and Kannada preferred e and o. Now the presence of e and o in BT may tempt us to draw one of the following inferences:

(a) The area where BT is spoken was under the Kandyan kingdom for a long time. The Telugu origin of the Kandyan kings like Rajasinghan, Kirtirajasinghan, etc., suggest that the Telugu language which preserved e and o might have influenced the language spoken in the eastern coast of Sri Lanka.

(b) Those who speak BT may be a group of people who must have migrated from South India and settled along the eastern coast of Sri Lanka when in the north JT which already separated from IT was being spoken. The theory about migration is also suggestecd by various stories and historical myths prevailing in Batticaloa (see, Arul Selvanayagam, 1971: 20-27).

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The Egypitan Osiris - Isis Myth and the Dravidian Cilappadikaram

Zacharias P. Thundy

There is general consensus among Dravidologists that the Dravidian peoples of India originally came from the Mediterranean region especially from Nubia, Upper Egypt. There are some archeological, linguistic, and religious evidences that support the theory of the Egyptian origins of the Dravidians. In further support of this view, I bring additional evidence from mythology: the popular Dravidian myth of Kovalan and Kannaki retold in Ilango Adigal's Tamil **Cilappadikaram** is closely related to and probably derived from one of the many versions of the Egyptian myth of Osiris and Isis. A comparative study of these myths shows that these two myths can illuminate and explain certain obscure aspects of each other.

The Osiris-Isis Myth

Osiris, the Greek rendering of the Egyptian **Usire** and often identified with Dionysus and Hades, was perhaps a nature god of vegetation-according to James Frazier— who dies with the harvest and is reborn when the grain sprouts in spring. According to Wallis A. Budge, **Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection** (London, 1911), I, 56, Osiris, the dark god of the Nile, was worshipped throughout Egypt as the god of the dead and, in this capacity, became the most important Egyptian god and the supreme deity together with his consort Isis (**As** or **Ast** in Egyptian) and son Horus. From hieroglyphic and iconographic records it is clear that Osiris was worshipped before 3800 B.C., that his cult was well established by 2400 B.C., and that it continued through the fourth century A.D- the period of the enforced suppression of paganism in Rome. Because Osiris was so important to the Egyptians and they were so familiar with his legends—their secular and religious literatures are replete with references to him--they never felt it necessary to leave a formal account of his legend in writing. However, we have some reliable, though incomplete, written accounts of the Osiris-cult in the works of the Greek Diodorus Siculus of the first century B.C. and of the Roman Plutarch of the following century; these historians have preserved some of the many Egyptian traditions about Osiris and Isis. It is my firm belief that the Dravidian **Cilappadikaram** has preserved some other elements of the same myth.

In the Pyramid Texts of the Book of the Dead of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (2400 B.C.) there are references to the murder of Osiris by his brother Seth or Typhon in Nedjet near Abydos in Upper Egypt and the finding of the body of Osiris by his wife Isis and sister Nephthys (wife of Seth); some texts also allude to Osiris' drowining in the Nile, casting of his dismembered body in the Nile, and its discovery in the Nile Delta by Isis. The Egyptian texts also mention the embalming, preservation, and resuscitation of Osiris' body Isis and the gods. Although Osiris was raised to life and embraced Isis who immediately conceived Horus, he did not continue his reign as king over Egypt; instead, he retired to the realm of the dead as judge; his murderer Seth was

tried by the gods and was found guilty. Meanwhile Horus, the falcon god, was born to Isis. According to one version, Horus who succeeded Oriris as Pharaoh once fought Seth in a river in the form of hippopotami and sought to kill Seth, the murderer of his father; during the fight Isis felt pity for her brother Seth and asked Horus to spare the life of Seth even though he killed her husband and brother; there-upon in uncontrollable rage Horus cut off his mother's head; but God Thoth restored her life by placing a cowhead on her shoulders. In iconography Horus is often depicted as a child in the lap of his mother Isis; he is most frequently presented as the falcon god, however.

According to Diodorus, Osiris was an ancient Egyptian king or Pharaoh who taught his people agriculture and the arts of civilised living; his wife and sister Isis introduced the use of wheat and barley. His brother Typhon/Seth murdered him and divided his body in twenty-six parts and scattered them all over Egypt. Typhon's reason for murdering Osiris was that Osiris had an affair with Typhon's wife Nephthys who had fallen in love with Osiris and borne him a child; the child was abandoned in the marshes of the Nile by Nephthys for fear of Typhon, but it was rescued by Isis with the help of dogs and was called Anubis, the guardian of gods. Isis recovered Osiris' body fragments except for the phallus and buried them secretly. Horus, Isis' son, avenged his father's death by slaying Typhon. After reigning as queen for many years, Isis died and was later deified in Upper Egypt and Memphis. Diodorus, however, does not discuss the role of Osiris in Egyptian religion.

According to Plutarch, Osiris was a king who travelled throughout Egypt and the rest of the world in order to teach mankind the arts of civilisation. When Osiris returned to Egypt after his many travels, he was murdered by brother Seth in the following manner. Seth, in collusion with seventy-two other conspirators measured the body of Osiris and made a beautiful, richly decorated chest exactly to Osiris' dimensions. He offered the chest at a banquet to any guest whom it fitted. When Osiris laid himself in the chest, Seth slammed the lid, secured it fast, and threw it into the river Nile which carried it to the sea and eventually deposited it in Byblos on the Phoenician coast. The box came to rest on the shore, and a lovely tree grew up beside it and enclosed it. The king of Byblos, fascinated by this huge, beautiful tree, cut it down and made it into a pillar in his palace. The sorrowing Isis discovered the tree-made-into-a pillar during her wanderiings and brought it back to Egypt. She could not hide the pillar from Seth. The suspicious Seth cut the trunk open and discovered the body of Osiris inside it. He cut the body into fourteen parts and scattered the parts throughout the country. Isis recovered the parts and buried them wherever they were found—this story explains why there are many burial places of Osiris in Egypt. Isis could not locate Osiris' genitals because it was swallowed by a fish (the Nile Crab Oxyrhynchid) that later became a taboo food for the Egyptians. Osiris later emerged from the underworld to train and equip his son Horus to avenge his death on Seth.

Cilappadikaram

There are several versions of the myth of Kovalan and Kannaki among the Tamil Dravidians of South India. The best known form of the myth is its literary version **Cilappadikaram** (The Ankle Bracelet), ascribed to the Chera prince Ilango Adigal; the work was probably composed in the second century A.D. The Tamil tradition, however, attributes it to the Third Sangam Era (c.1000 B.C.). In different versions of the myth we find the following interesting details which have a strong bearing on the Osiris-Isis myth.

Kovalan and Kannaki, two little orphans, came floating over River Kaveri to Pumpuhar, the capital of the Chola kingdom in two water-tight chests. The children were rescued by two wealthy merchants who brought them up as brother and sister. The couple were later united in marriage by their guardians. On the night of the wedding, Kovalan, a lover of dance and music, was attracted by the siren songs of the divine dancing girl Mathavi (daughter of Indra and Urvashi). Then and there Kovalan left his wife Kannaki and moved in with Mathavi who in due course bore him a daughter, Manimekhalai. Before the daughter was born, Kovalan was thrown out of the house by Mathavi stripped him of all his wealth and cast him in the Kaveri. Kovalan returned to wife Kannaki who made clothes for him and welcomed him back as her husband. Since the couple were penniless except for Kannaki's jewels, they could not make a decent living in the city of Puhar. Therefore, they decided to leave the Chola (Kovalan is perhaps the eponymous ancestor of the Cholas) city of Puhar for Madurai, the capital city of the Pandya kingdom. In Madurai, Kovalan tried to sell one of the pearl anklets of his wife to a goldsmith to raise cash for his business. The roguish goldsmith who had in his possession one of the precious anklets of the Pandya queen for repairs, falsely accused Kovalan of stealing the queen's anklet from his possession, with the hope of pocketing the crown jewel for himself. The king's men arrested Kovalan with the precious anklet of Kannaki on his person and brought him for trial to the king who was married to Kannaki's sister who had anklets similar to Kannaki's. The king in error identified Kannaki's anklet as the queen's in spite of Kovalan's protests and hastily judged Kovalan guilty of theft and sentenced him to death; an executioner carried out the death-sentence by cutting off Kovalan's head. When Kannaki heard of Kovalan's death, she hastened to the king's palace demanding justice and vindication. As soon as the unsuspecting Pandya queen identified Kannaki's anklet as different from hers, she fell into a swoon and died instantly. The angry Kannaki in anguish tore off one of her breasts and cast the bloody organ at the city of Madurai which was at once consumed by fire. Kannaki then went back to the place of execution and found the dead body of Kovalan and brought him back to life. A little later both husband and wife together ascended to heaven. After the story became widely known in south India, one day the single-breasted Kannaki appeared in the Chera kingdom in her radiant divine form. King Cenguttuvan ordered that a temple be built to this goddess. Mathavi, the courtesan mistress of Kovalan, renounced the world and became a Buddhist nun along with her daughter Manimekhalai (Precious Girdle).

In spite of the differences between the Egyptian myth of Osiris and the Dravidian Myth of Kovalan, there are many similarities between them and the cultures that created them. The following points deserve our special consideration.

1. Resurrection is the main theme in both myths; the revival of the heroes is preceded by treachery perpetrated by kinsmen.

2. The goddesses collect the dismembered bodies of their husbands and bring them back to life.

3. In both myths there is an adulterous union which results in an offspring: Nephthys gives birth to Anubis, a son: Mathavi gives birth to Manimekahalai, a daughter, whose name means "Precious Girdle". Isis is often represented in iconography with a girdle. Girdle is common to both myths.

4. Osiris and Isis have a son, Horus. In the **Cilappadikaram** version, Kovalan and Kannaki do not have any sons. However, in

the later traditions Kovalan is identified with Lord Siva and Kannaki with Goddess Parvati; they have as son Murugan, who in his turn is identified with Subramanian or Kartikeya.

5. Birds are associated with the Egyptian Horus and the Dravidian Murugan in iconography: the falcon with Horus and the peacock with Murugan. Probably the Indian god Garuda is closer or even identical to the Egyptian **Harakhte** (falcon) to whom Horus is related. Is Murugan also related to Harakhte/Garuda?

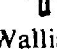
6. The river has an important place in both myths: Kovalan and Kannaki come floating in River Kaveri in chests; Osiris' body is cast in the Nile in a chest, and Isis is born in the marshes of the Nile Delta.

7. There is a great deal of travelling, wandering, and sojourning in both myths. The movements of the gods are symbolic of the wanderings of the Daravidian race both in Egypt and India. Isis symbolizes an exiled nation in Egypt, and Kanaki represents the exiled Dravidian race that came from Upper Egypt and finally settled down in South India after a long period of wanderings across the Arabian Sea and across the vast expanses of the Indian Peninsula. In this respect, Isis and Kannaki as well as Kovalan (ancestor of the Cholas?) can be compared to Israel alias Jacob, the eponymous ancestor of Israel who went to Egypt and later returned to Canaan.

8. In both myths, gods are associated with civilisation: Osiris teaches Egyptians and non-Egyptians alike the arts of agriculture and other arts of civilisation: Kovalan and Mathavi are both musicians, and Kannaki, according to one version, is a weaver and a garment-maker for the naked Kovalan, as Yahweh makes garments for the naked Adam and Eve in the book of Genesis.

9. Phallus-cult is a major element in the Egyptian religion and the Indian religion. According to the testimony of Plutarch, Isis consecrated a long stone made in imitation of the missing phallus of Osiris and instituted a solemn festival to its memory, which used to be observed even during Plutarch's time by the Egyptians. The missing phallus of Osiris is probably behind the pre-Aryan phallic worship of the Indians. Phallus-worshippers are condemned in the **Rg-Veda,** which means that the phallic cult pre-dates the arrival of the Aryans and probably belongs to the Dravidian culture. According to **Cilappadikaram,** in Kaveripattanam there was a long stone set up in an open square which was resorted to and worshipped by those suffering from the effects of poison and witchcraft. The Dravidians probably brought phallic worship from Egypt and later connected it with Siva by identifying Kovalan and Siva with Osiris.

10. According to **Cilappadikaram,** Kannaki twisted and tore off one of her breasts in great anger and moral indignation. In some iconographic representations, Isis appears to tear off one of her breasts in anguish. Her anger, according to Plutarch, dried up River Phaedrus; her loud lamentations killed King Melcarthus' son; her angry looks at a child who stele behind her to look at the corpse of Osiris killed the little boy. The Indian version of the story seems to illumine an obscure aspect of the Egyptian myth. Probably the Egyptian custom of representing Isis and other goddesses with one breast may have something to do with the Kannaki-version of the Isis-legend.

11. In the Egyptian Book of the Dead there is the mysterious "buckle"  of Isis. The great Egyptologist E.A.Wallis Budge, **Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection** (London, 1911), I, 199, writes:

> The Egyptians associated the so-called "buckle" of Isis with the blood and magical

words of power of that goddess, and they believed the object would protect the wearer against evil, but there is no evidence that they knew in later times what object it symbolized. The suggestion that the picture represents a buckle or belt has nothing to recommend it, and it is far more likely that is a conventional representation of some member of the body of the goddess than anything else. In view of the association of the Kannaki-legend with the Isis-myth, I suggest the "buckle"- symbol of Isis is really a representation of Isis' breast.

12. Another remarkable conclusion that emerges from this comparative study is the identity of the Egyptian amulet of the **ankh** in the hands of Isis and the other gods. It is not a sistrum or a bent cross. If Seth assassinated Osiris on the suspicion that he had stolen a royal anklet just as the Pandya king had Kovalan executed for suspected theft, then the Dravidian myth of Kovalan would supply the missing explanation for the anklet/sandal strap in the Osiris-myth. The sandal could also represent a royal insignia as in the **Ramayana** where Prince Bharata worships his brother Rama's sandal on a pedestal. I postulate this theory on the assumption that the **ankh** is an anklet/sandal strap. According James Hamilton Paterson and Carol Andrews, **Death and Life in Ancient Egypt** (New York, 1978), p. 83, "the **ankh** amulet represents the straps of the Egyptian sandal. It conferred on the wearer powers associated with life and living." The anklet or bracelet in the hand of Isis reminds us of the **cilmbu-kazhi-nonbu** custom of the Tamil Sangam times when the bride would remove the anklet she had been wearing and wear the one given by the bridegroom.

13. It is interesting to note that Osiris' Egyptian name **Osire** is akin to the Tamil word, **usire**, meaning "life". Of course, Osiris is associated with life and immortality.

14. Bull-worship is common to both the Dravidians and the Egyptians. During the Pongal-festival, bulls are worshipped in Tamil Nadu. In the Egyptian Book of the Dead, the bull is the incarnation of Osiris and is to be worshipped. Egyptian kings, the descendants of Osiris, called themselves bulls (Wallis Budge II, 397). There is sufficient evidence to the fact that bulls were sacred also in the Harappan culture which was probably Egyptian and Dravidian in its origin and development.

15. In Egypt, Isis sometimes is represented with the head of a cow; Horus was the one who had placed the cowhead on Isis' shoulders. I suspect that the horned god of one of the Harappan seals is a female god, a version of Isis, and not necessarily Pashupati Siva, if the Dravidian-Egyptian association is correct.

16. The Dravidians also share serpent-cult in common with the ancient Egyptians.

17. The headdresses of gods and kings in Egyptian iconography and Dravidian statues are very similar.

18. Osiris is the dark god of Egypt; Dravididian India also has a dark god, Kannan, who is known as Krishna in the Aryan religion; Krishna grew up in Mathura (North India), which was probably orginally a Dravidian city like the southern Madurai.

19. In both Egyptian and Dravidian religions, the Sun is a great god. Phonetically, the Egyptian word for the sun, **Ra** is quite akin to the Tamil **el/veil**— the sounds ḷ and ṛ are often interchangeable in many languages; further. metathesis is a common phenomenon in most languages.

20. The lotus as cosmic flower is a common religious motif both in India and ancient Egypt, According to the Papyrus of Ani, the soul rises

from the primeval lotus, which can be seen in many Egyptian paintings. The lotus of **anantasayanam,** along with the primeval serpent, is a contribution of the Dravidians of ancient Egypt and India to the Aryan Hindus.

21. If Kashi the holy place (alias Varanasi) is a Dravidian word, the name was bestowed on the place by the Dravidians after their homeland of Nubia, Upper Egypt, which is called **Kush** and **Kashi** in the Semitic languages.

22. Both the Dravidians and the Egyptians believe in the antiquity of their legends. Among the Tamils there is a belief in Three Sangam Ages which go back to 10,000 B.C. The legend was first recorded by Nakkirar in his commentary on the **Iraiyanar Akapporul:** the First Sangam flourished for 4040 years in Southern Madurai with 549 members, the Second Sangam for 3700 years in Kapatapuram with 59 members, and the Third for 1800 years in Northern Madurai after the Great Deluge. The Kovalan-Kannaki story allegedly took place during the Third Sangam Age. As noted before, the Osiris-cult flourished in Nubia during the Neolithic and the Predynastic Periods, that is, around 4500 B.C.

The above-mentioned similarities between the Egyptian myth and the Dravidian myth and between the ancient Egyptian culture and the Dravidian culture can be viewed either as purely coincidental or as genetically related. If the mythological similarities were the only common thing between ancient Nubia of Upper Egypt and Dravidian South India, I would dismiss by all means any claim for genetic kinship between the two cultures. On the contrary, I view the common myth only as another piece of evidence supporting the widely held theory that the Dravidians of India came from the Mediterranean region, particularly from Nubia, for ethnically and linguistically, the peoples of the two regions are strikingly similar.

Ethnically speaking, there is a misconception among many people that all the blacks of Africa are Negroes with frizzy hair, thick lips, and prognathous chins. On the contrary, there is a wide variety of races and ethnic communities in Africa The Semitic, Hamitic, and Caucasoid peoples of northern Africa are Not Negroes. The people of Nubia, by and large, are not Negroes; rather, they are like the Dravidians of South India: they have black skin, straighty or wavy hair, and orthognathous chins. Further, there is some mythological evidence to the Mediterranean Greek connection of the Egyptians/Nubians. According to Aeschylus' play, **Suppliants,** during pre-historic times fifty refugee women from Egypt (the Danaids, daughters of the Pelasgian Danaos) fled marriage to their lustful Egyptian cousins, the fifty sons of their father's brother, Egyptos. These maidens arrived in Argos, the kingdom of Pelasgos, and were granted asylum because, according to Greek religious beliefs, suppliants were under the jealous protection of Zeus and the other gods. This myth suggests that the Dravidian language as one of the ancient Egyptain languages has some affinities with the Pelasgian language of ancient Greece— this affinity was pointed out many years ago by the late S.K. Chatterji.

Linguistically speaking, linguists like Mlle Homburger, Cheik Diaye, Robert Caldwell, and S.K. Chatterji have pointed out significant similarities between Old Tamil and the ancient languages of the Mediterranean area and the modern languages of the Sudano-Sahelian civilisations of Egypt and Nubia. A comparative study of the Tamil language and the African languages is beyond the scope of this paper, but readers' attention is directed to the works of the linguists mentioned above. In this context, I would like to add to their vocabulary lists some common Egyptian words that are phonologically and semantically similar to their Tamil cognates: **pharaoh — periya** (Tamil)

"the great thing" **shrr - ceru** (Tamil) "small"; **per— pura** (Tamil) "house"; **Nilus — niru** (Tamil) "water"— Sanskrit **narah** is not an Indo-European word; it is probably derived from Dravidian **niru.** Robert Caldwell had pointed out years ago several cognate words in the Semitic languages and Tamil and suggested "an ancient pre-historic intermixture or association of the Dravidians with the Semitic race" (**A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages** (Madras, 1961), rpt p.606). This semitic-Dravidian connection can be easily understood if we bear in mind that in Egypt and Nubia the Semitic influence had been very pervasive during pre-historic and later times; the biblical story of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt is the best known illustration for the Semitic-Egyptian contacts; today Arabic, a Semitic language is spoken in Egypt and Sudan; Amharic, another Semitic language, is spoken in Ethiopia which until the twelfth century used Geez, a once-popular Semitic language, as **lingua franca.**

Apropos of this discussion is the theory that the Harappan hieroglyphics are derived from some form of ancient Egyptian picture writing which had gone through several changes before it reached India. Perhaps some of the seals of Harappa and Mohenjadaro can be decyphered as telling the story of Osiris and Isis or Kovalan and Kannaki. In this context Burnell's observation about the origin of the Tamil script is relevant:

The only possible theory of the origin of the character of the southern inscriptions is that its importation brought by traders from the Red Sea, and thence from Phoenicia, and is therfore of Egyptian origin, eventually. In many respects the Old Tamil alphabet resembles that of the Himyaritic inscriptions found in Yemen (cited by Caldwell, p. 127). It should be borne in mind that many Nubians, according to their oral traditions, originally came from the Arabian Peninsula, which would explain not only the Semitic origin of their script but also the presence many semitic words in their vocabulary.

When and How did the Nubians migrate to India? I believe that the migration took place in the third millennium B.C. According to the Stele of Palermo, the Egyptian Seneferu, the last king of the Third Dynasty, made a great raid on Nubia around 2613 B.C., and caused terrible destruction and a major dislocation of the Nubians; the Pharaoh brought thousands of slaves and cattle to Egypt from Nubia. Many Nubians at this time probably migrated from Africa to Asia. Some of the emigrants travelled overland across Mesopotamia, Iran, and Afghanistan to India, the land's end. The Dravidian Brahuis of Baluchistan, whose oral traditions claim that their ancestors came from the Phoenician coast, are probably a remnan of these land-travelling refugees who arrived in North India and established there an urban civilisation before the arrival of the Aryans. A large number of the exiles, on the other hand, travelled to India across the Arabian Sea. That the Egyptians had sea-worthy sail boats is obvious from ancient pyramidal reliefs and from the fact that on May 26, 1954 the royal ship of Cheops buried about 2600 B.C., was discovered at the base of the Great Pyramid by Kamal el-Mallakh; the ship was 150 feet long and its cedar wood came from Lebanon. The

ancient Tamils, on their part, had canoes, boats, and ships; we know this from the evidence of the words used in early Sangam-works. Puhar, according to **Cilappadikaram,** was a busy port. Quite recently Thor Heyerdahl discovered 4000-year old ruins of pyramidal temples, twenty phallic statues, and hieroglyphic inscriptions similar to those of the Indus Valley Civilisation in Maldive Islands, a gateway to South India. These were probably left behind by the Nubian Dravidians on their away to South India.

To conclude: The Osiris-Isis myth of the ancient Egyptians is closely related to the Kovalan-Kannaki myth of the Dravidians of South India. This new evidence from mythology supports the theory that the Dravidians of India came originally from Nubia, Upper Egypt.

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